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VOL. XV. No. 28.

WEEKLY PEOPLE

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1905.

PRICE TWO CENTS 50 CENTS PER YEAR.

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THE PREAMBLE OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

Address Delivered at Union Temple, Minneapolis, Minn., July 10, 1905.

By DANIEL DE LEON.

Workingmen and Workingwomen of Minneapolis:

Our chairman did not overstate the case when he said that the Industrialists Convention, which closed its sessions day before yesterday in Chicago after two weeks of arduous labors, marks an epoch in the annals of the Labor Movement of America. I may add, although his words imply as much, that the Chicago Convention marks also a turning point in the history of the land.

What was done there? You will be able to obtain an approximate idea, a hint, from the public declaration—the Preamble to the Constitution—adopted by the Convention. The document is short: I shall make that shortness still shorter by picking out just three of its clauses, the clauses which I consider most important, and by the light of which the significance, not only of all the others, not only of the document itself, but of the Movement which uttered it may be appreciated, gauged and understood.

The three clauses are these [reading]:

"There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life."

The second clause declares [reading]:

"The working class and the employing class have nothing in common."

Lastly, but not least, the third clause is as follows [reading]:

"Between these two classes a struggle must go on until all the toilers come together on the political, as well as on the industrial field, and take and hold that which they produce by their labor through an economic organization of the working class without affiliation with any political party."

These three clauses I propose to take in the order in which I have read them. I consider

THE FIRST CLAUSE.

pivotal. Does it state a truth? does it state a falsehood? Is it true that the condition of the Working Class is one of hunger and want? or is the contrary statement, heard so often, the correct one? Upon this subject the men engaged in the Social Question are irreconcilably divided. Deep is the cleft that divides them. On the one side stand those who were gathered, or were represented, at Chicago. They maintain that the condition of the Working Class is one of hunger, want and privation; that from bad it is getting worse and ever worse; that the plunder levied upon them mounts ever higher; that not only does their relative share of the wealth which they produce decline, but that the absolute amount of the wealth that they enjoy shrinks to ever smaller quantity in their hands. That is the Socialist position. Over against that position is the position of our adversaries of various stripes—from the outspoken capitalist down to the A. F. of L.ite. They assert that the condition of the Working Class is one of well-being; they claim that from good it is getting better and ever better; they maintain that both the absolute amount of the wealth that the workingman enjoys and his relative share of the wealth that he produces is on the increase; some of them, like the English organ of the New Yorker Volkszeitung Corporation, the "Worker" of February 5, of this year, go so far in their assault upon the Socialist position as to pronounce "a wild exaggeration" the claim that "the capitalist system fleches from the Working Class four-fifths of all that class produces." The two positions are irreconcilable. If the latter be true, or even approximately true, then the other two clauses that I am considering from the Preamble, aye, the Preamble itself, together with the whole work of the Chicago Convention, fall like the baseless fabric of a nightmare; contrariwise, if the former, if the Socialist position is true, then all the rest are conclusions that cannot be escaped, and the Chicago Convention builded upon solid foundation. All, accordingly, centers upon this first clause. Is it true? Is it false? Let us see.

[Here the speaker turned to a large yellow poster, tacked upon a blackboard, and conspicuously displayed upon the platform to his right.]

Let me introduce you to this document. You will find it excitingly interesting. It is entitled, as you see, "Uncle Sam's Balance Sheet." As you notice, it is full of figures. Be not alarmed by them. I shall need but only two of these columns, the last two, for my purpose. I have not cut out the others, in order not to lay myself open to the charge of presenting a "garbled document." This poster is intended to give, both statistically and pictorially, a convincing presentation of the progress in affluence made by the people of this country. Let me introduce you a little closer to the document. The columns of figures that you see were not gathered by me; they were not gathered by any Socialist; quite otherwise. This document was issued or circulated by the National Executive Committee of the Republican party during last year's presidential campaign. Seeing, moreover, that on this first column are given the successive Democratic and Republican administrations that presided over the Nation's destiny during the last fifty years, it is fair to consider that the statistical, aye, also pictorial, presentation of conditions cast upon this canvas, is the joint product of both the ruling parties. You may ask why do I trot before you the figures of the foe; why not present you with my own. I shall tell you. If I say "John Jones is a thief," the charge may or may not be believed: I would have to prove it. But if John Jones himself says he is a thief, then I am saved all further trouble. [Applause.] It is a fundamental principle of the law of

evidence that a man's own testimony against himself is the best evidence possible. [Applause.] By tacking that poster before you, I have clapped the highest spokesmen of the Capitalist Class upon the witness-stand. They cannot go back upon their own words. [Applause.] I propose to make them convict themselves. [Applause.]—I must earnestly request you to desist from applauding. The heat in this hall with this vast audience is intense. We must all be anxious to get out as soon as possible. These frequent interruptions by applause only defer the hour of our joint deliverance.—There is one more thing I wish to introduce you to on this document, before I take up the figures. As I stated, the document is intended to be a pictorial, besides a statistical presentation of affairs. Let me invite your attention to this picture on the poster's extreme right. You will notice it is Uncle Sam—but how lean, how hungry, how poor, how shabby, how scraggy he looks! That is supposed to represent the country as it started. Now look at this other picture on the poster's extreme left. You will notice by the goatee and other tokens that it is still Uncle Sam—but how changed! No longer are his clothes in tatters; they must be of good material because they do not burst despite his immense girth. [Laughter.] He has a gay, jaunty appearance; judging from that, from the tip of his hat, the twirl in the feather that surmounts it, and the twinkle in his eye, he is probably on a spree, half seas over—his face shining with the oil of contentment. That picture is intended to symbolize the country to-day. Now let us find out who this Uncle Sam is—the Working Man or the Idle Man, the Capitalist. The figures will tell us exactly.

This first column is headed "Product of Manufacture." It gives, from decade to decade, the value of manufactured goods in the country, from 1860 down to 1900. I shall not read off the figures in detail: they would be too cumbersome to carry on your minds: nor is that necessary: I shall mention them only in round numbers.

For the decade of 1860 the value of manufactured products amounted to nearly \$2,000,000,000 in lump sum.

For the decade of 1870 it amounted to over \$4,000,000,000.

For the next decade, 1880, it amounted to over \$5,000,000,000.

For the decade following, 1890, it was over \$9,000,000,000.

Finally, for the decade of 1900, the value of manufactured products was over \$13,000,000,000.*

This is a magnificent progression, as you will notice. From nearly \$2,000,000,000 in 1860, the wealth produced by Labor rose steadily, until in 1900 it reached the gigantic figure of nearly seven times as much—\$13,000,000,000! This, no doubt, indicates a vast increase of wealth with a corresponding potential increase of well-being. So far so good. But be warned in time. The existence of a good thing is no evidence of its being enjoyed by the Working Class. I must right here request you to get your thinking caps ready. Let me take an illustration. Suppose I say that in this hall, with a thousand people, there are \$10,000 to be found. That fact alone is no indication as to how those \$10,000 are distributed. It may be that, on an average, each one has about \$10. It may also be that of that \$10,000 I alone have \$9,999.99 in my pocket, in which case only a lone copper would be left to straggle in the pockets of the remaining 999 people in this hall. This first column of the poster informs us what the value is of the goods produced. It does not tell us how that wealth is distributed. It only gives us an idea of the increasing magnitude of Labor's productivity. As to distribution, it is to the next column that we must look; and now make ready for the exciting interestingness that I promised you.

The next column is headed "Wages Paid." Here also the amounts are summed up from decade to decade. I shall run over them, again in lump.

In the decade of 1860, the total wages paid to the workingman was over \$300,000,000.

In the next decade, 1870, the total wages rose \$400,000,000—they were over \$700,000,000.

In the decade of 1880, they rose by \$200,000,000 more, and amounted to over \$900,000,000.

In 1890 the increase in the total wages paid was double. The wages paid to the workingman was over \$1,800,000,000.

Finally, in 1900, the wages were over \$2,300,000,000, or \$500,000,000 more than in 1890.*

If we take a bird's-eye view of this wages column, its purpose is obvious. The way the figures are arranged they are meant to convey two ideas—first, that the share of the individual workingman is vast; secondly, that his rise towards affluence is steady and still vaster. It is expected that when a workingman is told or sees, black upon white, that in 1860 his class received the gigantic pay of over \$300,000,000, he feels quite sure that he has a big chunk of that amount. The largeness of the total is intended to act as an opiate on his feverishly pinched purse. And when, black upon white, that initial total is seen to swell and double, from decade to decade, until it reaches the giddy height reached in 1900, then he is expected to be so thoroughly dazed and muddled that he knows not whether he stands upon his feet or his head, and is utterly incapable of thinking. The gigantic wealth, that is supposed to be his, positively crazes him. Now let us look closer at these figures. From now on until I get through with this poster, I must ask you to put your thinking-caps on, and keep them tied firmly to your heads.

Whenever figures of wages are presented to you, you must submit them to two tests. Not until you have done so will the figures convey to you any practical information. I propose to submit with you this column of wages to the two tests that I have in mind.

The first test is to ascertain the relative size, or percentage, that the wages bear to the total wealth produced. The test is easy. It merely involves a plain arithmetical calculation. Any fourteen-year-old child should be able to do the sum. Let us apply the test.

The poster informs us that in the decade of 1860 the wages paid were over \$300,000,000. It also informs us that the

*The exact figures are:

In 1860—\$ 1,855,861,676.

In 1870—\$ 4,322,325,442.

In 1880—\$ 5,369,579,191.

In 1890—\$ 9,372,437,253.

In 1900—\$13,030,279,566.

*The exact figures are:

In 1860—\$ 278,878,966.

In 1870—\$ 775,584,343.

In 1880—\$ 947,953,795.

In 1890—\$1,891,228,321.

In 1900—\$2,330,578,010.

wealth produced by Labor during that same period was nearly \$2,000,000,000. Applying that arithmetical calculation to the two full sets of figures, we ascertain that the wages were twenty per cent. of the wealth produced. Now we are in possession of a fact. It is not a very cheering fact, but it is a useful fact to know. It is the first fact that conveys practical information. By its light the huge total wage of over \$300,000,000 shrinks to its real, its social, dimensions. We now know, from the figures given by the poster itself, that in 1860, out of every \$100 that he produced, the workingman got only \$20: somebody else got \$80; from it we learn that in 1860 the workingman was plundered out of \$80 for every \$100 worth of wealth that he brought into existence. Immediately a suspicion arises in our minds as to who this fat and festive Uncle Sam must be. But we snuff out the suspicion; twenty per cent of one's product is not much; indeed, it is very little; but we remember that this is only a start, and that the soaring figures promise progress. Encouraged by this hope, we proceed to test the next decade.

Applying the same arithmetical calculation to the figures given on the poster for the decade of 1870, we again ascertain the percentage of Labor's share—the relation that the increased total wage bears to the increased total production. What we there discover gives such a shock to our nerves that the pencil almost drops from our hands. Remember that in the previous decade the share of Labor was twenty per cent.; remember also that we were promised progress. The expectation started by the promise justified the hope that we would be getting at least one per cent more. Vain hope! The share of Labor, as brought out by the test of the figures furnished by the poster itself, is—eighteen per cent! A curious progress, this. It is the progress of the cow's tail—downward. In 1860, the share of Labor was \$20 out of every \$100 worth of wealth that it produced; in 1870, we find its share has gone down to eighteen per cent. In 1860, the plunder levied upon the workingmen was \$80 out of every \$100; in 1870, the plunder, as revealed by the figures furnished by the poster itself, is \$82 out of every \$100 worth of wealth produced by the workingman. The suspicion, started in our minds by the revelations in 1860 as to who this stout and lusty Uncle Sam is, revives. [Applause.] But again we suppress it. Our hopes are buoyed up by the consideration that many a babe, instead of immediately growing, is assailed by the whooping-cough, measles and bronchitis, and declines, but only temporarily; he rallies quickly, and then grows strong uninterceptedly. That may have been the case with us in 1870. Cheered by these thoughts we rush on to the next decade.

Again we apply that simple arithmetical calculation, now to the figures of the wages paid and the wealth produced in the decade of 1880. The percentage traced by our pencil looks absurd. We must have made a mistake. We go over the sum once more. No mistake. The workingman's share in 1880 is lower than the twenty per cent. that it was in 1860; it is lower than the eighteen per cent. that it was in 1870; it is now seventeen per cent! Arrived at this point, we are no longer able to suppress the suspicion as to who this retund and jolly Uncle Sam is. [Laughter and applause.] Nevertheless, we do not yet lose heart. Still mindful of the promise held out by the poster regarding our progressive affluence we proceed to the following decade.

The same arithmetical calculation is gone through. We compute the ratio of the wages paid in 1890 to the wealth produced in that decade. Lo, a surprise! The decline has stopped, the percentage of Labor's share in 1890 has risen above the percentage in 1880; it has risen above the percentage in 1870; it is now again twenty per cent. as it was in 1860. Thankful for small favors, we look back. Having expected another decline our agreeable surprise almost makes us feel happy. Nevertheless, we wonder where the "progress" comes in. The figures furnished by the poster itself reveal that we are in 1890 just where we were when we started in 1860. After thirty years of arduous toil; after thirty years, during which the soil of the land was literally drenched with the sweat and blood and marrow of the workingman; after thirty years during which the American working class produced more heireses to the square inch than the working class of any other country, to purchase European noblemen for husbands; at the end of thirty years during which the working class, as this poster itself shows, produced a phenomenal amount of wealth—at the end of these thirty years the American working class is just where it was thirty years before, the wretched retainer of only \$20 out of every \$100 worth of wealth that it produced! This is hardly a progress worth bragging about. It is conservatism of misery. Nevertheless, hope springs eternal in the human breast. Perhaps the long lean years are at last over. Perhaps a brighter day is suddenly to burst upon us, and we are suddenly to make up for lost time so as to look in 1900 like this affluent, well-fed, well-clad, jolly Uncle Sam who, according to the poster, typifies the worker.

And so we apply the test to the figures for 1900, the last ones furnished on the poster. The same arithmetical calculation is resorted to. Woe is us! Our hopes are dashed. The percentage of the share of Labor comes down kerslap. It is as low as it ever was—seventeen per cent! The temporary rise in 1890 was but the flicker in a dying man's eye—the precursor of collapse.

The lie attempted to be given to the Socialist regarding the outrageousness of the plunder, that he maintains the Working Class is subjected to by the Capitalist Class, rolls down the throat of its utterer. Even making allowance for the value of imported raw material to which the Labor of other countries has given value, even making generous allowance for all that due allowance should be made for, the figures to which this poster testifies establish the conclusion that the pittance of one-fifth of its product is a liberal estimate of the share that the Working Class is allowed to retain. The first of the two tests, to which these figures of "Wages Paid" must be put, dispels their halo; it exposes a good portion of the naked and hideous reality; it points to the conclusion that, not this lusty Uncle Sam, but that other miserable being at the other end of the poster typifies the American workingman. The second test will establish the fact beyond peradventure.

Let me go once more over the figures on this column of "Wages Paid," so as to refresh your memory. The wages paid in the manufacturing industries are here given as

Over \$ 300,000,000 for 1860;

Over \$ 700,000,000 for 1870;

Over \$ 900,000,000 for 1880;

Over \$1,800,000,000 for 1890; and

Over \$2,300,000,000 for 1900.

The purpose of such a presentation of the run of wages is

obvious. The intention is to convey the idea that the condition of the individual workingman improves; that it has improved gigantically. The presentation of figures in that way is intended to convey the idea that the wages or earnings of the individual workingman have soared upwards—and to convey the idea crushingly. I shall prove to you from the attitude of this witness, whom I have here pinned on the stand, that his purpose is to obtain a snap-judgment upon imperfect information; that he is guilty of that worst form of deception which consists in stating a half-truth and suppressing the other half; in short, that he is a swindler.

Keep your thinking-caps tight on your heads. Is the fact that in 1860 the output in wages amounted to \$300,000,000 and that in 1900 the output ran up \$2,000,000,000 more—is this fact enough to warrant any conclusion as to the improved condition of the workingman? Let me illustrate with a simpler instance. Suppose I were to tell you that last month I paid out \$10 in wages, and that this month I am paying out \$20. I would now be paying out double the amount in wages that I paid out last month. Does that mean that my workingmen are now getting twice as much wages as the did last month? They may—and they may not. Whether they do or do not, depends not merely upon the increased total of the wages paid; it depends upon something else beside. What is that something else? Obviously, the number of men that I employed last month, and the number of men that I employ this month. If last month I employed only two men it would mean that their wages averaged \$5 a piece; if the month, however, I am employing ten men, then, although the total amount that I am now paying out in wages doubled, the wages of my men would have gone down by over fifty per cent. [Applause.] The total wage may rise mountain high, and yet the individual wage may decline perpendicularly. [Applause.] Let us now bring this column of dazzling figures paid out in wages to the touchstone of the principle that I have just elucidated. The first thing noticeable is the total absence from this, or from any of the other columns on the poster of any statement with regard to the number of men among whom these successive grandiose figures have to be divided. No statement of their number for 1860; no statement of their number for 1870; no statement of their number for 1880; no statement of their number for 1890; no statement of their number for 1900. The witness on the witness-stand dodging; he is prevaricating; he is perjuring himself. [Applause.] We should need no more than that to know what I do with his case. Nevertheless, I do not propose to convict him by indirection; I propose to convict him explicitly.

The Census, furnished by the agents of the identical class that got up this poster, informs us that, in 1870, there were 2,053,966 workingmen employed in the manufacturing industries. The wages paid to them, according to this poster, were \$775,584,343. By dividing the total number of workers to whom these wages were paid into that amount we obtain the figure of \$377 as the average annual wage for that decade. Stick a pin there.

In the next decade, 1880, when the total wage stated on this poster was \$947,953,795, there were according to the Census 2,732,595 workingmen engaged in manufacturing. Dividing this figure into that grand total of wages we shall obtain the average wages paid then, and thereby also an idea of the workers' condition. The figure obtained is \$346—\$3 LESS THAN BEFORE! Although the total wage had risen during the last ten years about \$200,000,000, the individual wages WENT DOWN \$31!

We proceed to the following, the decade of 1890. For this period the poster gives \$1,891,228,321 as the wages paid. The Census informs us that that amount must have been distributed among 4,351,535 workingmen. Again dividing this number into the total wage paid to them we obtain \$445 as the average wages. This denotes a rise. What these absolute rises amount to, that they vanish like mist before the sun that they are a snare and a delusion, in fact a cheat—that shall make clear presently. For the present, sticking close to the present line of inquiry, we shall consider it an absolute gain. So considering it, it is legitimate to contrast the gain made by the workingmen with the absolute gain made by the class whom we now know this fat Uncle Sam represents. After twenty years of such toil as I need not describe to you, we find that the wages of the average workingman increase by the giddy amount of \$68 a year, or nineteen cents more a day, while the small class that this jolly customer—the rotund Uncle Sam—here represents progressed during that same period only to the tune of the modest figure of \$3,228,883.52—and there were no four million of them among whom to divide that "little windfall." [Applause.]

We proceed to the next and last, the decade of 1900, when according to this poster, the total wages paid were \$2,330,578,010, and, according to the Census, there were 5,341,533 workingmen engaged in the manufacturing industries. Dividing the latter figure into the former we obtain the average wages received by the workingman. It was \$436—\$9 LESS than in 1890! Take notice—Notwithstanding the total amount of wages paid had INCREASED by \$439,349,689, the actual earnings of the average workingman DECREASED by \$9!

I stated a minute ago that the average increases in wage credited to the individual workingman are "paper increases, and I promised to prove it. I shall proceed to do so now. As we have seen the wages declined \$9 between 1890 and 1900. Nevertheless, the figures actually show that from 1870 to 1900 there is an increase in the average wage amounting to \$59 a year. Even if this paltry figure could stand, it would be mockery. What else but a mockery is an increase of \$59 a year, after thirty years of toil, for the class the sweat of whose brow and the marrow of whose bone raised the total wealth during that period by the gigantic figure of \$8,806,954,124. It is a tragic mockery. There is but a step even from that tragic to the ridiculous. I shall prove to you that even the paltry \$59 increase dwindles down to the proverbial "thirt cents." [Laughter.] The line of argument that I shall now take up is but a subdivision of that second test to which I have been submitting this column of "Wages Paid," and which has knocked the bottom from under it. The second test to which I shall now submit it will smash the remaining fragments. I must request you not to drop your thinking caps. You will need them.

You saw how misleading, because insufficient, were all comparisons of wages paid at different epochs, without a simultaneous statement of the number of wage-earners, among whom the wages were distributed in the respective periods.

(CONTINUED ON PAGE TWO).

THE PREAMBLE OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE).

I shall now prove to you how such comparisons of wages paid at different epochs, even to the identical wage-earner, are also misleading, and given with "intent to deceive," unless other factors are considered.

Let me begin the argument on this head with an illustration. Say that last year my wages were \$1 a day and that this year my wages are \$1.25 a day. Is the mere fact that I am receiving in cash twenty-five cents more than last year sufficient premises from which to conclude that this year I am better off by twenty-five cents' worth of wealth? Let me help you to the answer by giving you a further illustration. Suppose that last year, when my wages were a hundred cents, the cost of living—rent, food, clothing, the absolutely necessary necessities of life—was ninety-nine cents. What would follow? It would follow that I had a penny over and above my wants. I could either put that in the savings banks [laughter], or invest it in stocks [laughter] as we are told that workingmen do extensively. [Laughter.] But suppose further that now, when my wages are one hundred and twenty-five cents, the cost of living has gone up so as to run up to one hundred and twenty-six cents. What is the result? The result is that I am "busted." [Laughter and applause.] You see the point. He who tells us that our wages have gone up without stating how the cost of living is conducting itself—such a man is attempting a fraud upon us. That, once more, is the case with the witness whom I have nailed on this board. On that subject also he is silent as the tomb. His silence, however, need not leave me in the lurch. I don't need him. I shall, with your consent, turn you into living statistical columns. I request all those of you, the women included, who certainly know a good deal on this head—all those of you whose experience it is that the cost of living is now lower than it was twenty or ten years ago, to raise your right hands. I shall request the chairman to count the hands. [The chairman rose, looked over the audience, and reported "No hands in sight."] I shall now request all those to raise their right hands whose experience it is that the cost of living is now just what it was twenty or ten years ago, no lower and no higher. Kindly raise your right hands those of you who can testify to that. I shall again request the chairman to count the hands. [The chairman rose, looked over the audience and reported "No hands in sight."] I shall take a third poll. Let all those raise their right hands whose experience it is that the cost of living has gone up and gone up perceptibly. [All the hands go up.] Will the chairman count? [The chairman: "Too many to count."] From the Atlantic, across and beyond the Mississippi, that is the identical response I have everywhere received from the audiences that faced me. Beginning with rent, the necessities of life have everywhere gone up.—There goes a big chunk—the bulk, probably even more—of that wondrous \$59 increase in wages since 1870! [Applause.]

I shall now proceed to knock out whatever fraction may possibly still remain of the "increase." You have seen that a knowledge of the cost of living is indispensable in order to form a correct idea as to whether an increase in wages means improved conditions. You have seen that there may be an increase in wages and yet no proportional improvement in conditions if the cost of living has increased. Intimately connected with the subject of the price paid for goods is the subject of the quality of the goods. Again let me illustrate before entering upon the subject itself. Suppose that twenty years ago I paid \$10 for a suit of clothes and that that suit lasted me two years, say two winters. Now, suppose again that this year a suit of clothes, that looks as good, lasts me only one year, say one winter. What does that show in point of price? It shows that, whereas twenty years ago a \$10-bill furnished me with clothing for two years, now a \$10-bill furnishes me with clothing for only one year. In other words, if I do not wish to be in rags the second year, the clothing that twenty years ago cost me only \$10, now costs me \$20. The conclusion from this fact is that "deterioration" of goods spells "increased price." On the face of things the price has remained what it was; in point of fact it went up.

Now then, both in food and clothing the extent to which deterioration has gone during the last twenty years staggers imagination. The reports of the shoddy turned out by our factories would be incredible were they not so well authenticated. This is a matter of general experience. It is particularly the housekeeper who makes acquaintance with this fact. Inquire from any woman fifty years old to-day and she will be able to tell you upon the subject tales that are sad. One elderly housekeeper whom I interrogated upon the subject put it this way: "When I married and bought a suit of underclothing for Henry it lasted two years, often longer; now when I get any underclothing I have to start darning the darned things from the time it is put on." [Laughter.]

Similarly with food. There is hardly an article of food, especially the food that the workingman can afford to buy, that is not adulterated, consequently, that has not deteriorated in quality. Essays galore are cropping up upon the extent to which this baneful practice has gone. These essays show that health is thereby undermined, even if life is not thereby speedily snuffed out. One of these essays of recent date claims that the food adulterations are directly responsible for the death of over 400,000 infants a year; and it traces the sickness and death of thousands upon thousands of adults to the same cause. Let me quote another authority upon this sad. You will find on page 132 of the Congressional Record, under date of last December 12, the following passage: It is a passage from the speech delivered by Senator Stewart in the course of the debate on the Food Bill [reading]:

"I do not think the country has any idea of the extent of the poisons that are administered in the food that is sold and eaten in this country. I think it is sapping the foundation of the constitution of our people. If we had to raise soldiers now as we did in 1861 I do not believe that throughout the country we could find as large a percentage of young men fit for hard service as there were at that time."

The proof of the pudding, in this as in everything else, ever lies in the eating. If wages really increase, and the cost of living does not rise, and the necessities of life—food and clothing—do not deteriorate; if they remain good or even improve, what must be the result? Obviously the people who enjoy them must be hale and hearty; they must be healthy while they live, and their lives must be long. If, on the contrary, earnings barely increase and that increase is more than eaten up by higher prices and by the deterioration of such necessities of life, as food and clothing, the fact is bound to appear in the condition of the class that is affected thereby. If you ever are in New York, take a walk in the evening on Forty-second street, or Fifth avenue where the clubs are located of the Republican and Democratic parties, and of sev-

eral other capitalist societies. There must be similar clubs here in Minneapolis; they are found in all our large cities, even in some smaller manufacturing towns. Peep through the large pier-glass windows into the gorgeous precincts. You will see grey heads abound. Is it that these gentlemen are prematurely grey? Is it that they are so poorly fed and clad that it has turned their hair? Hardly! I admit that their aged appearance is somewhat to be accounted for by their lives of dissipation, and their covert Mormon practices. Nevertheless, they have reached old age. Such is the good quality of the goods that they consume that all their dissipations and immoral practices do not prevent their reaching old age. Having taken in that sight, move into the wards which the working class inhabit, and drop into the places where workmen congregate. Make sure and take along a little pad of paper and a pencil. On that pad jot down a tally mark for every grey head that you come across. You will find few indeed to record. Why, look at this assemblage of workmen. There is hardly a greyhead among them. In an assemblage of half this size, but of capitalists, you would find the greyheads numerous. Among workmen they are far and few between. Is it that the workmen are so well-fed and so well-clad that their hair preserves its color even into old age, and thus conceals their years? Oh, no! The greyheads are few among them because their hair is not given a chance to turn. Long before the season, they have sunk into early graves, the victims of intense toil, aggravated by small earnings, and this in turn aggravated by the adulteration of the goods that alone their earnings can purchase. [Loud applause.] An interesting side-light is thrown upon this subject by the official report recently made to his government by the British Consul in Chicago. Speaking of the machinists in particular, he said that if a machinist in the United States is forty-two years of age and out of work, it is difficult for him to get a job; and he proceeds to explain why—said he, if the man has worked as hard as he is expected to, then he is worn out at forty-two; if he is not worn out, then it is a sign that he did not work as hard as he is expected to, and they have no use for him either way. [Laughter.] I wish to furnish one more piece of testimony under this head before I dismiss the subject. The man I am about to quote is not a "fire-brand agitator"; although he often spoke in public, his subject never was of the sort that might tempt a man to exaggeration. It is Huxley, the slow, plodding, accurate scientist. He said that four-fifths of the people die of slow starvation. There may be those among you who are of a statistical turn of mind. If such there be, they may have nosed among the statistics of mortality furnished by the Census and other official sources. Such friends of statistical turn of mind may say: "Why, that's nonsense; a man or two may occasionally die of starvation; but hundreds and thousands of them; impossible! I have seen the statistics on mortality; I have seen the list of diseases; there is consumption, pneumonia and all sorts of other diseases; but I never saw starvation entered among the causes of death." People holding such views are in error; in serious error. A man may be dying of slow starvation and not know it. His stomach may be full; he may never have felt the gnawings of hunger; and yet he may be dying of slow starvation. If in summer a man is not properly clad, he is emitting more heat than his system can stand—he is dying of slow starvation; if in winter he is not clad warm enough, he is consuming more heat than his system can afford—he is dying of slow starvation; his stomach may be replete, he may imagine himself well-fed, but if the matter in that stomach is adulterated food, then the organisms that carry the nutrition from the stomach, and spread it throughout the body, find no nutrition to carry, the tissues that are consumed are only partially replaced—THAT MAN IS DYING OF SLOW STARVATION. [Applause.] The fact is brought home to him when it is too late; aye, it is concealed from him and from his friends even then. He catches a cold; a robust constitution would cast off the distemper without difficulty; his constitution, however, is not robust; his constitution has been long drained by slow starvation; the slight distemper throws him on his beam-ends; it develops into pneumonia; he dies; the physician reports pneumonia as the "cause of death"—BUT STARVATION IT WAS. [Applause.] And so down the line of consumption, rheumatism, diabetes and most of the other ills plentifully bestowed upon the working class by the "increased wages" that the Capitalist Class lavishes upon the Working Class. Because—never lose sight of this fact—it is the identical capitalist class which regulates wages, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, raises the cost of living and adulterates the goods needed to live on, which, as you saw, is but another form of raising prices.

We are through with the witness. He stands convicted out of his own mouth. The condition of the working class has gone from bad to worse. Not this roly-poly of an Uncle Sam, but that other emaciated being typifies the wage earner of the land. [Applause.]

Some say, and I am of those, that craft or pure and simple Unionism has promoted, aye, urged on these wretched conditions. Others, I know, claim that pure and simple or craft Unionism is not to be held responsible; they claim that, on the contrary, were it not for pure and simple Unionism, conditions would now be even worse. Those who are of this opinion hold that, instead of being decried, pure and simple Unionism should be praised for what it does. Even accepting this, the most favorable summary possible of the work of pure and simple Unionism, it would follow that pure and simple Unionism is, at best, a brake to check the downward run of the chariot of Labor; it would follow that pure and simple Unionism not only is utterly incompetent to emancipate the Working Class, but that it is not even able to prevent decline; that all there is in it is the capacity to slacken or reduce the downward trend of things. Even accepting this most favorable of views, it would be an argument to cast the thing aside [Applause.] The mission of Unionism is not to act as rear-guard to an army defeated, seasoned in defeat, habituated to defeat, and fit only for defeat. The mission of Unionism is to organize and drill the Working Class for final victory—to "take and hold" the machinery of production, which means the administration of the country. [Applause.] I shall, however, prove to you that pure and simple Unionism deserves no credit whatever. I shall prove that it is directly responsible for existing evils, that it is an accomplice in capitalist crime, and has become a scourge to the Working Class. This takes me to

THE SECOND CLAUSE.

of the three clauses of the Preamble that I proposed to take up with you, the last two of which are, as I stated in opening, pivoted upon the first which I have just demonstrated.

The second clause—I shall read it again—is as follows:

"The working class and the employing class have nothing in common."

In a way, this clause also stands proved by the figures on this poster, together with the obvious conclusions that flow from them. Whatever the interests may be of a class whose material welfare steadily towers up, and the interests of the

class whose material welfare, and all that thereupon depends, sinks perpendicularly and in even tempo with the former's rise, as illustrated by these figures—whatever these two sets of interests may be, they can have NOTHING IN COMMON. The relations between these two sets of interests are not even the relations of two, though opposing, yet supplementary forces, such as physics tells us of. They are the relations between the vampire and the victim, whose blood it drains—and such relations surely establish nothing in common. Of all one-sided relations, these relations "take the cake and the pie." [Laughter and applause.] Indeed, people who prate about the "mutuality," the "brotherhood," the "identity" of interests of the Capitalist, or Employing Class, and the Working Class demand of the workingman that for which they would spank their own children if they believed it possible. They want of you that you believe it possible to divide an apple between two men in such a way that each shall have the bigger chunk. [Laughter.] An impossibility! If the workingman produces four dollars [illustrating with the fingers of his left hand] and the capitalist take two, there are only two left to the workingman; if the capitalist take three, the workingman has to put up with one; if the capitalist appropriate three and a half, there is nothing but fifty cents left to the workingman. Inversely, if the workingman hangs on to a whole dollar, the capitalist's share is reduced to three; if the workingman pushes forward and keeps two, there are but two left for the capitalist; should the workingman preserve three, the capitalist would have to put up with one; and should the workingman "divide" in such a way that he "takes and holds" all that he produced, my capitalist will have to go to work. [Laughter and applause.] In other words, he would cease to be a capitalist. Now, then, the figures on this poster quite clearly illustrate the law that underlies the capitalist system of production. That law does not aid the workingman to preserve an increasing share of his product; it aids, aye, it requires the capitalist to intensify his plunder increasingly. His chunk must be ever thicker, ever and correspondingly thinner must be the workingman's slice. No common interest there! As far as this aspect of the clause which I have just read is concerned, it is too obvious to require further proof. But weightier sense and meaning, meaning and sense of more immediate, practical pith and moment lies imbedded in that clause.

It is an inevitable consequence of the falsehood regarding the hand-in-hand prosperity of capitalists and workmen that their relations are mutual, and, consequently, that they stand upon a footing of equality. Of course, if the two are getting along swimmingly, they must be peers, even if it be conceded that their peerage may be of different rank. Down from that parent falsehood, set afloat by the capitalist professors, politicians and pulpiteres, and zealously carried into the ranks of pure and simple Unionism by the Labor-Lieutenants of the Capitalist Class, a long line of descent of increasingly insidious and practically pestiferous falsehoods may be traced. The ancestral falsehoods of the hand-in-hand progress of capitalist and workingman begets the son-falsehood of the equality of workingman and capitalist; the son-falsehood begets the grand-son fraud of "contracts"; and you will see how the grand-son fraud litters a prolific progeny of its ilk to Labor's undoing.

What is a "contract"? I am not going to give you any Socialist definition of the term. The term has nothing to do with Socialism. It is a term the meaning of which has grown up with the race's experience. The definition I shall give is the law-book definition. It is the definition accepted and acted upon in all the Courts of Equity. A contract is an agreement entered into by two equal parties; a contract is an agreement entered into between peers; a contract is an agreement entered into by two freemen. Where the parties to a thing called a contract fall within these categories, they are said to be of contracting mind and power, and the document is valid; where that which is called a contract lacks any of these essential qualities, especially if it lacks them all, the thing is null, void and of no effect; it is a badge of fraud of which he is guilty who imposes the contract upon the other. Let me illustrate:

Suppose that some Minneapolis agent of a lecture bureau, anxious to secure my invaluable services as a speaker for this evening, had written to me to New York, asking for my terms; and suppose I had answered that I would come for \$500. He would have written back wanting me to come down a peg or so. I would have replied. Suppose that after considerable chaffering I had agreed upon \$400 and he had yielded, whereupon a document would have been drawn up reading somewhat like this:

"John Jones, party of the first part, and Daniel De Leon, party of the second part, have mutually covenanted and agreed that the party of the second part will deliver an address in Minneapolis on the 10th day of July, and the party of the first part will pay the party of the second part for his services the sum of \$400 in U. S. currency."

This document being signed would be a contract. If on the appointed day I came, delivered the goods, and John Jones failed to pay me, I would have a just cause of action against him for breach of contract; if, on the other hand, I failed to put in an appearance, he could sue and recover damages from me on the ground of my breach of contract. Whatever people may think of the steepness of my price, the contract would stand. It would stand—why? Because both he and I were free to accept or reject: neither of us acted under compulsion: we were both FREE AGENTS.

But, now, suppose that, instead of writing, he came down to New York, rushed into my office, whipped a Colt's horse-pistol out of his hip-pocket, cocked and held it with the muzzle an inch from my head, and said: "Sign this!" laying before me a sheet of paper containing this legend:

"John Jones, party of the first part, and Daniel De Leon, party of the second part, have mutually covenanted and solemnly agreed and bound themselves as follows, to wit: that the party of the second part will deliver an address in Minneapolis on the 10th day of July, and the party of the first part will pay the party of the second part for his services the sum of five cents, which sum of five cents the party of the second part hereby acknowledges to be a liberal payment for his services, the said sum being agreed upon after a friendly and mutual understanding between the said party of the first part and the said party of the second part." [Laughter.]

Would I sign? Why, of course, I would! [Laughter.] I would sign above, below, to the right, to the left. [Laughter.] I would never stop signing. [Laughter and applause.] I would keep on signing like a "moving picture," until that pistol was removed from its close proximity to my temple.—THAT IS THE SITUATION OF LABOR WHEN IT SIGNS "CONTRACTS." [Prolonged applause.]

Now, say, that he, John Jones, returns to Minneapolis with the "contract" in his pocket, and a glow of righteous, patriotic contentment on his face. Say he hires a hall, prints and circulates posters announcing the meeting and address, and inserts advertisements in the papers; say he even pays the bills, and does not cheat in that also. The day of the meeting, the hour arrives—but not I. The hall fills—but not with me. Hour upon hour passes;—whoever else may be there, I am absent. The audience storms at him; calls him names; insists upon and gets its admission moneys back. Say that, indig-

nant at my "breach of contract," John Jones were to institute a suit for damages against me. What would happen? He would be thrown out of court for a swindler, he might even be prosecuted for "assault with intent to kill." That "contract" is null, void and of no effect; it is a badge of fraud of which he is guilty; it is all that because I was not FREE, because he held me under duress.—EXACTLY SO WITH THE WORKINGMAN WHO SIGNS "CONTRACTS"; EXACTLY SO WITH THE CAPITALIST WHO EXTORTS THEM. [Applause.] The workingman does not stand upon a footing of equality with the capitalist; he is not of contracting mind and power with the employer. The latter holds over him the whip of hunger that the capitalist system places in the hands of the master, and with the aid of which he can cow his wage slave into acquiescence. Why, among themselves, and even in their public utterances, when anger throws them off their guard, the apologists for capitalism blurt out the fact that "only the lash of hunger" can keep the workingman in the treadmill. At the bar of man and of justice the "contracts" that Labor signs are null, void and of no effect. And yet what do we see? The spectacle is of such daily occurrence that it has assumed the nature of a "system," of a deliberate manœuvre, indulged in by employers jointly with their Labor-Lieutenants to paralyze the Labor Movement; aye, worse yet, to give it the aspect of a rat-pit.

This is the way it works. Say I am a railroad magnate. I make my "schedules" or contracts, not with all my employees together, but with each craft separately,—and there cannot be too many autonomous crafts among them to suit me. Incidentally, let me call your attention to the circumstance that the A. F. of L. is steadily disintegrating its national and international Unions into autonomous crafts. Its candle-holders endeavor to make much out of some few exceptional instances, in order to make it appear that "the A. F. of L. itself is steadily becoming industrialist." The increasing volume of jurisdictional feuds tells the opposite tale. As I proceed you will be able to appreciate the meaning of the absolute craft autonomy tendency that manifests itself in the A. F. of L. But to return. I make my separate contract with each of the separate crafts engaged on my railroad line—and there cannot be too many of them to suit me. My contract with my locomotive engineers is drawn up to expire, we shall say, on April 15; my contract with my switchmen is drawn up to expire on September 3; my contract with my firemen is drawn up to expire, say, on January 21; my contract with my trainmen is drawn up to expire, say, on November 30;—and so forth, down the line of as many crafts as pure and simple Unionism splits my workmen into, and it can't split them into too many for my comfort. Each separate craft being tied up with a separate contract, expiring on a separate date, I got the industry at my mercy. Say that, "contract" or no "contract", obedient to that underlying law of the capitalist endless screw; that economic law that neither capitalist nor his class can rein in; that relentless economic law which dictates their conduct in their wrappings with one another and that causes the capitalists to interpret these contracts to suit themselves;—say that my switchmen are driven to rebellion and strike. What do I do? I telephone to my chief Labor-Lieutenants—the Presidents, Grand Chiefs and Superlative Secretaries of the national Unions—and, simultaneously, I touch the button, and set the press going, both the capitalist newspapers and the Labor papers, so-called, edited by the pupils of the Civic Federation. My Labor-Lieutenants hasten to respond to my call. Like black birds, they hie themselves to the scene from the four quarters of the compass. And then, to the orchestration of: "Infamous men, they have broken their contracts! Scandalous men, they have violated their sacred agreement!" and more to this effect from the press that I have set a-going, and that causes every old woman of both sexes and of all ages to look askance at my striking switchmen as so many serpents under the grass,—to the tune of that artificial concert my national Labor-Lieutenants fall to work. They do not turn their attention to the men on strike: these contract-breaking miscreants are below the contempt of my virtuous Labor-Lieutenant. They call around them the men in the other departments—engineers, firemen, conductors, etc.—and with the aid of their understrappers, the local skates, address them in this language:

"Behold yonder sinks of iniquity: They have broken their contracts! It is a wonder the lightning of heaven does not come down and blast them. Surely the bones of the patriotic founders of this Republic are rattling in their graves at the discovery that there can be such lawless men encumbering this soil of freedom. Look at 'em! They broke their contracts! Surely YOU will not do the same? Surely YOU will not be so base! Surely YOU will be true!" [Laughter and applause.]

And the men thus addressed cross their arms over their manly chests, and bowing low to the Goddess of Contract, that has been conjured up before them for the occasion, make answer:

"Not we! WE shall be loyal to our word. WE shall respect our agreements. WE shall not break our sacred contracts!" [Laughter.]

Which, translated into English, means—"WE SHALL SCAB IT UPON OUR FELLOW WAGE SLAVES." [Prolonged applause.] And they do! And thus we have seen Union locomotive engineers scabbing it upon Union firemen, and Union firemen scabbing it upon Union brakemen, and Union brakemen scabbing it upon Union switchmen, down the line; and we have seen all of these jointly scabbing it upon Union trolley-men and upon all manner of other Unionmen on strike by transporting either the militia and military to dragoon the workers into submission, or the hungry unemployed to take the places of the men who went out. Thus we have seen Union molders scabbing it upon machinists; Union machinists scabbing it upon Union elevator-men; Union cigarmakers upon waiters; Union waiters upon brewers; Union brewers upon glucose workers; Union teamsters upon carpenters; Union bricklayers upon garmentworkers; Union softcoal miners upon hardcoal miners,—and so down to the very last and least of the craft organizations, and all against each. [Applause.] It is a fact, deep with significance, though it seems to escape the observation of superficial observers, that it is not the UNORGANIZED SCAB who breaks the strikes, but the ORGANIZED CRAFT that really does the dirty work [loud applause]; and thus they, each of whom, when itself involved in a strike, fights like a hero, when not themselves involved, demand themselves like arrant scabs [applause]: betray their class—all in fatuous reverence to "contracts!" [Loud applause.] Only the other day we had a glaring illustration of this disgraceful performance in the city of New York, when the men on the Belmont Interborough struck for living conditions, and Gompers, together with the other lackeys of the Belmont Civic Federation, ably assisted by their local sub-lackeys, such as Mr. Morris Braun, of the Gompers International Cigarmakers' Union No. 144, howled down the men on strike as contract-breakers, revoked their charters as "unworthy of Unionism," proclaimed directly to Belmont that "the men had done wrong," and kindly begged his pardon for the sinners. [Voices: "Shame!"] Still

(CONTINUED ON PAGE THREE.)

THE PREAMBLE OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE TWO.)

another and even more pathetic instance was that of the strike of the New York newspaper boys, upon whom Hearst had raised the price of his paper. These little tots, who, by their very appearance, herald in the open the merciless cruelty of capitalism even against the defenseless child; underpaid; underfed; underhoused; deprived of the innocent joys of childhood; that are so essential to the building up of the future man; stunted in schooling; prematurely thrown into the temptation of vice; walking, running, yelling monuments of capitalist cannibalism—these waifs walked before Typographical Union No. 6, and asked for support, for the support of men many of whom were fathers themselves, and who, had they struck with the boys, certainly would have insured them victory. Did they?

An oath, an oath, I have an oath in heaven,
Shall I lay perjury upon my soul?

asks the scoundrel in Shakespeare. "A contract! A contract! We have a contract in the pocket of our master Hearst! Shall we lay breach of contract upon our conscience?" asked the craft Union composers. Of course they wouldn't! [Laughter and applause.] They slobbered over the boys their "sympathies"; they bestowed upon them all the sweet words that butter no parsnips—and the boys went down in defeat. It should be here added, although a digression, that when a year or so later that identical Typographical Union had its strike against the "Sun," those bearded men went down upon their knees before the identical boys whom they had left in the lurch, and implored their support. Let the fact be recorded as an evidence of the inherent nobility of the human heart, and in honor of childhood—the ever-renewing promise that human feeling and human instinct shall not perish from the earth—that when appealed to, the boys returned evil with good, and helped the printers fight their strike. [Loud applause.] It was a pure breath of Industrialism.

And in Chicago, during recent months, what was the spectacle presented there? We saw the Garment Workers valiantly, with drums beating and colors flying, march to the fray. They fought bravely and were beaten off the field. Thereupon the Teamsters put on war-paint and fell to in support of the routed Garment Workers. They, too, fought with the desperation of heroes, and went down. Possibly after them some third division of Labor may take the field to avenge the cause of the Teamsters, after these went down in the attempt to avenge the Garment Workers after their fight was lost!—Do you know what would happen to the General, who, in face of the embattled foe, instead of concentrating his forces for the fray, were to send first one small division into the field of battle; wait until that was annihilated; then send a second small division; again wait until that was routed; and then send a third, likewise to be wiped out, until his whole powerful army was demoralized and took to flight? Do you know what would happen with that General? He would be grabbed by the neck, court-martialed, and shot in the back for treason. Now, I am no prophet, nor the son of a prophet; yet, concluding from the facts that are thronging to the bar, I venture the statement on this 10th day of July, 1905, that the day is nigh when the Working Class of America will court-martial the Gomperses, the Mitchells, the Stonesses [loud applause] whose generalship is sacrificing the army of Labor—court-martial them for treason to the Working Class. [Loud applause.]

Thus, we trace, in direct line of descent from the ancestral falsehood concerning the mutuality of relations between the Employing Class and the Working Class, a long genealogy of fraudulent principles, culminating in "contracting" the Working Class into paralysis, and the crop of evils that flow therefrom. Falsehood can only breed Falsehood, and Falsehood's spawn is Evil; inversely, Evil can be sired and damed by Falsehood only. In the framework of the capitalist social system, the Working Class and the Employing or Capitalist Class have nothing in common. The principle is a beacon on the track of Labor's march to emancipation; the contrary principle is a false light that lures to social wreck. [Applause.]

THE THIRD CLAUSE,

of the three leading and typical clauses in the preamble, is the longest of the three; it is of special importance: I must bespeak your continued and close attention [Reading]:

"Between these two classes a struggle must go on until all the toilers come together on the political, as well as on the industrial field, and take and hold that which they produce by their labor through an economic organization of the working class, without affiliation with any political party."

This clause contains two distinct ideas, joined in two separate sentences. The two ideas are so distinct—the idea of the absolute necessity of political unity, and the seemingly contrary idea of the sufficiency of economic organization to ultimately strike the shackles from the wage slave—that they must be treated separately.

POLITICAL UNITY.

I cannot claim for the Industrialist Movement and its Preamble, or Declaration of Principles, the palm of originality over craft Unionism for the thought that is implied in the sentence that the toilers must "come together on the political as well as on the industrial field." The thought therein implied is that politics is a concern of Unionism. This is no new thought. Strange as it may seem at first blush, it is a thought that pervades craft Unionism as well; stranger still, it is a thought that the Labor-Lieutenants of the Capitalist Class, in charge of craft or pure and simple Unionism, have made themselves the special guardians of. On this head, the merit of Industrialism does not lie in the utterance of a new thought. The great merit lies in uttering loudly a fact, which, being kept secret by the said Labor-Lieutenants, enabled them to profit by it at the expense of the membership. It is the case of a guardian concealing from his wards the hidden riches of their estate, and, on the sly, trafficking upon those riches himself. Much lies in the thorough apprehension of these facts.

Who of you has not witnessed the sight of a Labor-Leader jumping up at a craft Union meeting, as if a torpedo had exploded under his seat, every time the economics or sociology of Labor was expounded? The sight is common. Whatever the subject that presents itself to a Union, it cannot choose but be handled from one of two view-points—either from the view-point of capitalism, or from the view-point of Labor, that is, Socialist economics. Impassive, complacently smiling,

perhaps even blissfully snoring, the Labor Fakir will sit in his seat, so long as the discussion is carried on along capitalist lines. But let the first word be uttered that has the ring of Socialist, that is, Labor economics, and you will notice a sudden transformation. Like a faithful watch-dog of capitalism, the fakir will snarl, jump up and bark. I have more than once deliberately tested the thing at the meetings of craft Unions with which I happened to be connected. I would join a discussion that was in progress, peacefully in progress, with the fakir looking on unconcernedly—discussions on immigration, discussions on boycotts, discussions on wages, discussions on tenements, discussions on the liquor traffic, etc., etc. I would carefully avoid the word "politics"; deliberately would I avoid it. Neither the word "politics," let alone the name "Socialist Labor Party" would drop from my lips. They were as words tabooed, and alien to me while I spoke. But lo, no sooner did I deploy my argument so as to bring out the Labor, which is the Socialist, view-point of the subject, than up would jump the watch-dog of capitalism with the protest: "No politics in the Union!" [Applause.] He was right; that is to say, Labor or Socialist economics IS politics. BY THE SAME TOKEN CAPITALIST ECONOMICS LIKEWISE IS POLITICS. [Loud applause.] Capitalist economics is at home, capitalist economics is tolerated, capitalist economics is safeguarded, aye, capitalist economics is fought for in craft Unionism—who would dare gainsay that politics IS a palpitating life in the Union? or who would dare deny that the Labor Lieutenant of the Capitalist Class is the special custodian of that treasure? It is proven. Upon this particular head—the head that politics is the concern of Unionism—Industrialism utters no new principle, leastwise a principle that it would lie in the mouth of craft Unionism to dispute. Great, however, is the merit of Industrialism in the consequences that flow from its utterance. Through craft Unionism the watch-dogs of the Capitalist Class keep the treasure a secret for their private gain. By openly proclaiming the treasure, Industrialism renders it public property. The consequences that flow herefrom mark the turning down of an old and the turning up of a new leaf. That leaf is inscribed "Political Unity." [Applause.]

It is not a political organization—as the Preamble indicates and I shall prove—that can "take and hold" the land and the capital and the fullness thereof. That—as the Preamble proclaims and I shall prove—is the function reserved for the economic organization of the working class. Nevertheless, society moves from stage to stage, not via a succession of shipwrecks, but via evolution. Each succeeding social stage connects with the one preceding. Before the new is established and its methods are in operation, the methods of the old are per force resorted to. They are the navel-strings of the child aborning. The evolution from the capitalist system to Socialism marks a revolution of first rank. The methods of the Socialist Republic will be methods that flow from its own material framework. The latter is so diametrically the opposite of the capitalist social framework, that the two methods will bear no comparison. Capitalist society requires the political State: accordingly, its economics translate themselves into political tenets; Socialist society, on the contrary, knows nothing of the political State: in Socialist society the political State is a thing of the past, either withered out of existence by disuse, or amputated—according as circumstances may dictate. For all that, Socialism is the outgrowth of, the higher development from capitalism. As such, the methods of the Socialist Movement on its march towards Socialist society are per force primarily dictated by the capitalist shell from which Socialism is hatching. Seeing that capitalist economics translate themselves into politics, Socialist economics cannot wholly escape the process. A part, the better, the constructive part of Socialist economics, translates itself into the industrial organization of the Working Class: it translates itself into that formation that outlines the mold of the future social system; another part of Socialist economics, however, inevitably translates itself into politics: it inevitably takes that form that matches capitalist methods. Upon that plane the Socialist Movement crosses swords with the modern ruling class—these to uphold, it to dislodge them from and dismantle their Robber Burg. [Applause.] This is the fact that lies at the bottom of the Marxian tenet to the effect that the Labor Movement is essentially political. In a country like ours, where, in keeping with full-fledged capitalism, the suffrage is universal, the inevitable political character of the Labor Movement is rendered all the more marked.

The sentence of the Preamble that we are now considering, and which urges the necessity of political as well as industrial unity, is planted upon these facts. Where, for instance, one set of workmen imagine that they should pool their votes with their free trade employers, it is out of all question that they can be a unit on the industrial field with another set of workmen whose economic views are that protection guarantees them work and better wages. Where, to take another issue, one set of workmen share the capitalist economic notion that the gold standard means good wages, they cannot possibly be united on the political field with those of their fellow wage-slaves, whose political tenets on finance is that plentiful money means plentiful wages. These two sets cannot be industrially united, any more than politically, for the simple reason that they do not stand upon the rock-bed of the class struggle. Trace their economic and their political views to their respective sources, and you will find them to be identical—THE FUNDAMENTAL ERROR THAT THE EMPLOYEE'S CONDITION IS DEPENDENT UPON THE CONDITION OF THE EMPLOYER. The baneful result of the error is obvious: employers are economically divided into warring, competing clans; consequently, if the workmen are appendages to their employers, they cannot choose but be likewise divided. Class ignorance, accordingly scatters the ranks of the Working Class. The rupture produced upon the industrial field is reflected upon the political field, and there we see the Labor vote likewise scattered—cast for all the scores of parties in the field, from the soundest Socialist down even to the Utopian Prohibitionist; and, on the other hand, the rupture exhibited upon the political reacts back upon and intensifies the division on the industrial field where, thanks to the baneful policy of craft Unionism, we see Labor's hand at Labor's own throat. [Applause.]

In this connection the speculative question has sprung up in some minds whether political unity is brought about by industrial unity, or industrial unity by political unity. As a question of speculative philosophy, it may be relegated to the realm of idle discussion. In natural philosophy a similar question appears in the conundrum: What was first, the hen or the egg? One man answers: "Of course, the hen; without the hen, there is no fowl to lay the egg"; another declares: "Nonsense, the egg must have been first: without the egg, there is nothing for the hen to be hatched out of." We know that in material life the evolutionary process is so gradual that result reacts back upon cause in such an endless chain that, in the limited span of man's observation, the exact line of demarcation is not always ascertainable. Cause and effect become relative matters, frequently dependent upon the view-point of the moment. It is likewise in social matters. As an abstract question, it is idle speculation whether political

clearness causes economic clearness, or, inversely, economic clearness brings about political clearness. We know that at certain stages of the Movement political clearness may be ahead of industrial clearness, and will act upon and stimulate it; likewise do we know that at certain other stages, there is no political unity, consequently, no political clearness possible, except as a result of economic unity, and that presupposes clearness. He who is engaged in raising poultry will get the eggs from which to hatch the hens; he who wants eggs for the market will get the hens to lay them; and he who wants both will cultivate both; he will not wear out his energies in speculations regarding the "original cause." That is the posture of the Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World. It recognizes the necessity of both political and industrial unity; it proclaims the fact; nor does it conceal its opinion as to which of the two, at this stage of the Movement, must precede in order to make the other possible. The construction of the sentence under consideration, proclaiming the necessity of unity "on the political field, AS WELL AS ON THE INDUSTRIAL FIELD," amply indicates which of the two unities Industrialism considers to be the necessary prerequisite at this stage of the Labor Movement in America. The sentence proclaims the fact that, at the stage reached by the Labor Movement in America, the political unity of the Working Class can only be the reflex of economic unity; it also proclaims the underlying, the pregnant fact that the political Movement is absolutely the reflex of economic organization. A brilliant passage in Marx' "Eighteenth Brumaire" casts a brilliant side-light upon this particular subject. Referring to the conduct of the feudal lords of England during the British Revolution, Marx says they believed that the British Crown and the Church of England were the subjects of their enthusiasm, until the hour of danger wrung from them the admission that what they really enthused for was GROUND-RENT. And so we see the Editors of the privately owned press of the Socialist or Social Democratic party in the land, called in this State Public Ownership party, conducting themselves to-day. They believed that Socialism was the object of their enthusiasm, until the hour of danger—the issuing of the Chicago Industrialists Manifesto, and the holding of the Chicago Convention—has wrung from them the admission that what they really enthused for was the flesh-pots of the A. F. of L. [Applause.] Political unity is a slogan of Industrial Unionism.

THE FUNCTION OF UNIONISM.

I shall now proceed to the second, the closing sentence of the third of the three clauses that we have been considering—the sentence which sets up the theory that the final, the consummating act of Working Class emancipation must be achieved by the toilers "taking and holding" the product of their labor "through an economic organization of the Working Class, without affiliation with any political party." In no country, outside of the United States, is this theory applicable; in no country, outside of the United States, is the theory rational. It is irrational and, therefore, inapplicable in all other countries, with the possible exception of Great Britain and the rest of the English-speaking world, because no country but the United States has reached that stage of full-orbed capitalism—economic, political, and social—that the United States has attained. In other words, no other country is ripe for the execution of Marxian revolutionary tactics. [Applause.] No wonder the theory has set all the owls, the pseudo-Marxists included, afluttering; no wonder it has set all the pod-snaps of the A. F. of L., together with its kindred craft "Brotherhoods," apopondering, and acconning the "contradiction" of demanding "political unity," and in the same breath proposing to take and hold the machinery of production through an economic organization "without affiliation with any political party." In this sentence of the Preamble is condensed what may be called the code of Marxian "tactics," as distinguished from the code of Marxian "economics"; the code of "action," as distinguished from the code of "theory." As a consequence, the sentence outlines the form of the governmental administration of the Republic of Labor. It involves the vital question of the function of Unionism, a question that is so widely misunderstood that, on the one hand, we see the "intellectual," ever sneering at Unionism, and arguing, as is his wont, from partly correct and mainly false premises, that "the Union is a passing institution," not worth bothering about; and, on the other hand, the "Unionist," so-called, with a practical instinct that tells him the Union is no "passing institution," but who blunders into the superstition of revering as "Unionism" that which is purely a capitalist contrivance, labeled "Union" in order to deceive, and calculated to block the path of Unionism indeed. The Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World is the first pronouncement on the field of practice that clinches this many-sided issue. As becomes her opportunities, therefore her duty, this fruit first ripened on the soil of America.

It does not lie in a political organization, that is, a party, to "take and hold" the machinery of production. Both the "reason" for a political party and its "structure" unfit it for such work. I have at considerable length dealt with some of the aspects of this question in the address I delivered last year in Newark, N. J., "The Burning Question of Trades Unionism." I shall now take it up somewhat more in detail.

The "reason" for a political party, unfits it to "take and hold" the machinery of production. As shown when I dealt with the first sentence of this clause—the sentence that urges the necessity of political unity—the "reason" for a political Movement are the exigencies of the bourgeois shell in which the Social Revolution must partly shape its course. The governmental administration of capitalism is the State, the government proper: that institution is purely political: political power, in the language of Marx, is merely the organized power of the Capitalist Class to oppress, to curb, to keep the Working Class in subjection. [Applause.] The bourgeois shell in which the Social Revolution must partly shape its course dictates the setting up of a body that shall contest the possession of the political Robber Burg by the Capitalist Class. The reason for such initial tactics also dictates their ultimate goal—THE RAZING WITH THE GROUND THE ROBBER BURG OF CAPITALIST TYRANNY. The shops, the yards, the mills, in short, the mechanical establishments of production, now in the hands of the Capitalist Class—they are all to be "taken," not for the purpose of being destroyed, but for the purpose of being "held"; for the purpose of improving and enlarging all the good that is latent in them, and that capitalism dwarfs; in short, they are to be "taken and held" in order to save them for civilization. It is exactly the reverse with the "political power." That is to be taken for the purpose of ABOLISHING IT. It follows herefrom that the goal of the political Movement of Labor is purely DESTRUCTIVE. Suppose that, at some election, the class-conscious political arm of Labor were to sweep the field; suppose the sweeping were done in such a land-slide fashion that the capitalist election officials are themselves so completely swept off their base that they wouldn't, if they could, and that they couldn't, if they would, count us out; suppose that, from President down to Congress and the rest of the political redoubts of the capitalist political Robber Burg, our candidates were installed;—suppose that, what would there be for them to do? What should there be for them to do? Simply

TO ADJOURN THEMSELVES, ON THE SPOT, SINE DIE. Their work would be done by disbanding. The political Movement of Labor, that, in the event of triumph, would prolong its existence a second after triumph, would be a usurpation. It would be either a usurpation, or the signal for a social catastrophe. It would be the signal for a social catastrophe if the political triumph did not find the Working Class of the land industrially organized, that is, in full possession of the plants of production and distribution, capable, accordingly, to assume the integral conduct of the productive powers of the land. The catastrophe would be instantaneous. The plants of production and distribution having remained in capitalist hands, production would be instantly blocked. On the other hand, if the political triumph does find the Working Class industrially organized, then for the political Movement to prolong its existence would be to attempt to usurp the powers which its very triumph announces have devolved upon the central administration of the industrial organization. The "reason" for a political Movement obviously unfits it to "take and hold" the machinery of production. What the political Movement "moves into" is not the shops, but the Robber Burg of capitalism—for the purpose of dismantling it. [Applause.]

And, now, as to the "structure" of a political party. Look closely into that, and the fact cannot escape you that its structure also unfits the political Movement to "take and hold" the machinery of production. The disability flows inevitably from the "reason" for politics. The "reason" for a political party, we have seen, is to contend with capitalism upon its own special field—the field that determines the fate of political power. It follows that the structure of a political party must be determined by the capitalist governmental system of territorial demarcations—a system that the Socialist Republic casts off like a slough that society shall have outgrown. Take Congress, for instance, whether Senate or House of Representatives. The unit of the Congressional representation is purely politically geographic; it is arbitrary. The structure of the Congressional district reflects the purpose of the capitalist State—political, that is, class tyranny over class. The thought of production is absent, wholly so from the Congressional demarcations. It cannot be otherwise. Congress—not being a central administration of the productive forces of the land, but the organized power of the Capitalist Class for oppression,—ITS constituent bodies can have no trace of a purpose to administer production. Shoemakers, bricklayers, miners, railroadmen, together with the workers in all manner of other fractions of industries, are, accordingly, jumbled together in each separate Congressional district. Accordingly, the political organization of Labor intended to capture a Congressional district is wholly unfit to "take and hold" the plants of industry. The only organization fit for that is the organization of the several industries themselves—and they are not subject to political lines of demarcation: they mock all such arbitrary, imaginary lines. The central administrative organ of the Socialist Republic—exactly the opposite of the central power of capitalism, not being the organized power of a ruling class for oppression, in short, not being political, but exclusively administrative of the producing forces of the land,—ITS constituent bodies must be exclusively industrial. The artillery may support the cavalry; the cavalry may support the infantry of an army in the act of final triumph; in the act, however, of "taking and holding" the nation's plants of production, the political organization of the Working Class can give no help. Its mission will have come to an end just before the consummation of that consummating act of Labor's emancipation. The form of central authority to which the political organization had to adapt itself and consequently looked to, will have ceased to be. As the slough shed by the serpent that immediately reappears in its new skin, the political State will have been shed, and society will simultaneously appear in its new administrative garb. The mining, the railroad, the textile, the building industries, down or up the line, each of these, regardless of former political boundaries, will be the constituencies of that new central authority the rough scaffolding of which was raised last week in Chicago. [Applause.] Where the General Executive Board of the Industrial Workers of the World will sit there will be the nation's capital. [Applause.] Like the flimsy cardhouses that children raise, the present political governments of counties, of States, of the city on the Potomac herself, will tumble down, their places taken by the central and the subordinate administrative organs of the Nation's industrial forces. [Applause.] Obviously, not the "structure" of the POLITICAL Movement, but the structure of the ECONOMIC Movement is fit for the task, to "take and hold" the industrial administration of the country's productive activity—the only thing worth "taking and holding."

THE BALLOT.

The Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World poses well both the political and the economic Movement of Labor, and it places them in their proper relation towards each other.

Instimable is the value, dignified the posture of the political Movement. It affords the Labor Movement the opportunity to ventilate its purposes, its aspirations and its methods free, over and above board, in the noon-day light of the sun, whereas otherwise, its agitation would be consigned to the circumscribed sphere of the rat-hole. The political Movement renders the masses accessible to the propaganda of Labor; it raises the Labor Movement above the category of a "conspiracy"; it places the Movement in line with the Spirit of the Age, which, on the one hand, denies the power of "conspiracy" in matters that not only affect the masses, but in which the masses must themselves be intelligent actors, and, on the other hand, demands the freest of utterance. In short and in fine, the political Movement bows to the methods of civilized discussion: IT GIVES A CHANCE TO THE PEACEFUL SOLUTION OF THE GREAT QUESTION AT ISSUE. By proclaiming the urgency of political as well as of industrial unity, the Preamble amply and sufficiently proclaims the affinity of the economic with the political Movement. At the same time, by expressly proclaiming that the "taking and holding" is an act that falls wholly within the province of the economic organization, the Preamble locked a dangerous switch, a switch into which to run there is grave danger, the danger of rendering the Socialist, which means the Labor Movement, illusory, and a roosting place for the "intellectual" riff-raff of bourgeois society.

The ballot is a weapon of civilization; the ballot is a weapon that no revolutionary Movement of our times may ignore except at its own peril; the Socialist ballot is the emblem of RIGHT. For that very reason the Socialist ballot is

weaker than a woman's tears,
Tamer than sleep, fonder than ignorance,
Less valiant than the virgin in the night,
And skilless as unpracticed infancy,
unless it is backed by the MIGHT to enforce it. [Applause.] That requisite Might is summed up in the Industrial organi-

(CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX.)

WEEKLY PEOPLE

P. O. Box 1576. Tel. 129 Franklin.

Published every Saturday by the
Socialist Labor Party.Entered as second-class matter at the
New York postoffice, July 13, 1900.Owing to the limitations of this office,
correspondents are requested to keep a
copy of their articles, and not to expect
them to be returned. Consequently, no
stamps should be sent for return.

SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES:

In 1888	2,068
In 1892	21,571
In 1896	36,394
In 1900	34,191
In 1904	34,172

Every day is fresh beginning.
Every morn is the world made new.
You who are weary of sorrow and
sinning
Here is a beautiful hope for you.
—COOLIDGE.

RACE SUICIDE? NAY, MURDER!

An innocent-looking press despatch comes from Chicago to the effect that female stenographers are being broken in on the type machines by the Typothetae in their fight with the Typographical Union. The manifestation of the teachings and effect of craft Unionism, as exemplified by the women who are thus stepping in to defeat their fellow wage slaves, is horrible enough. Yet, if possible, the despatch implies an even greater horror—a downright crime committed by the capitalist typhothetae. They are destroying motherhood.

The type-setting machine is a death-dealing weapon: it murders the operator mentally and physically it wrecks him: it keeps the mind at a tension that cannot be sustained for many hours at a stretch without crippling it: as to the body, in particular, the machine poisons it: the inhaling of the fumes that rise from the close-by pot of melted metal directly breeds disease, and lays the foundation for many more ailments. Two hours a day, four at the most, is all that the robustest male constitution could bear with. As matters stand, the mortality among linotype operators has become appalling. If such conditions affect paternity and must deteriorate the race, they are even more baneful to woman: they prevent maternity. The inhaling of chemical gases has been found to be especially injurious to woman. Apart from injuring her physique, it physically unsexes her. Work at the linotype means to woman a blow at motherhood.

The human mind revolts at the increasing iniquities of the Capitalist Class. It coins into gold the lives of the poor; it coins into gold the collapse of the race; and it perverts its felonious power to the hypocritical claim of "patriotism," "religion" and "love of the family." Only in the sense that the capitalist himself is a member of the human family can his conduct be translated into "Race Suicide." But so is the felon who murders a fellow being a member of the human race. His conduct is not called "Suicide." He is considered a murderer.

The Capitalist Class at large, the Typothetae in this particular instance, come fully within the category. For murder they should be tried, as murderers they should be dealt with—and will be just as soon as the hastening day shall have arrived when the Criminal Code will be administered, not by the criminal class itself, but by the triumphant people.

THE FIRST TWO ROUNDS.

It is now nearly two months since the Industrial Workers of the World has been launched. During these two months a polemic has been going on between the A. F. of L. press and the privately owned papers of the Socialist or Social Democratic party, on the one hand, who uphold the A. F. of L. and similar craft organizations, and, on the other hand, the press of the Socialist Labor Party, which stands by the I. W. W. Each of these two months may be said to be a "round" in the contest. Summing up the arguments made during these two rounds, we have the following record:

To the argument made by the S. L. P. press that craft unionism ruptures the Labor Movement, and to the citations of fact by which the S. L. P. press supports this argument, the answering "argument" from the privately owned S. P. or S. D. P. press and the A. F. of L. papers is the howl—"Intriguer, dancing dervish, disrupter, trickster, Loeb!" To the argument made by the S. L. P. press that the press of the A. F. of L. and of the kindred craft organizations derive their economics and their sociology from the Civic Federation, and that, as a consequence, that press echoes capitalist false teachings, and to the citations of fact with which the S. L. P. press supports this argument, the answering "argument" from the privately owned S. P. or S. D. P. press and the

A. F. of L. papers is the screech—"Dancing dervish, disrupter, trickster, Loeb, intriguer!"

To the argument made by the S. L. P. press that the capitalist class has left it to the officers of the A. F. of L. and of kindred craft organizations to establish the censorship of the press and of speech, and thereby to gag the rank and file of the Union, and to the citations of fact with which the S. L. P. press supports these arguments, the answering "argument" from the privately owned S. P. or S. D. P. press and the A. F. of L. papers is the yap—"Disrupter, trickster, Loeb, intriguer, dancing dervish!"

To the argument made by the S. L. P. press that the officers of the A. F. of L. and of kindred craft bodies are corrupt, and that they are used by the capitalist as his labor-lieutenants in order to betray the rank and file, and to the citations of fact with which the S. L. P. press backs up this argument, the answering "argument" from the privately owned S. P. or S. D. P. press and the A. F. of L. papers is the growl—"Trickster, Loeb, intriguer, dancing dervish, disrupter!"

To the argument made by the S. L. P. press that a political party of Socialism, without an economic organization for its basis, is like a balloon in the air; that no such party does exist; that that all parties that claim to be of Socialism are pivoted upon economic organization; that if such a party is not pivoted upon right-headed Unionism it cannot choose but be pivoted upon wrong-headed Unionism; that, consequently, a bona fide party of Socialism is bound to be the paladin of a bona fide Unionism; and, finally, that the acting as gopher or bruiser for a mala fide Unionism on the part of a party that claims to be of Socialism is proof positive of its unfitness, if not corruption; and to the citations of fact with which the S. L. P. press backs up this argument, the answering "argument" from the privately owned S. P. or S. D. P. press is the squeak—"Loeb, intriguer, dancing dervish, disrupter, trickster!"

On to the fray, ye men of the I. W. W.! The battle is ours! Where such sputtering and imbecility as proceeds from the A. F. of L. and the privately owned press of the S. P. or S. D. P. is the only argument available, the "argument" is proof positive of mental bankruptcy—aye, it is proof positive that behind such "argument" crouches the cowering criminal, who knows he has been got "on to."

EVEN THE GALLOWS DON'T.

Discussing the case of the four officers of the Schwarzschild & Sulzberger Packing Company of Chicago who pleaded guilty to the charge of conspiracy to accept railroad rebates and were fined an aggregate of \$25,000, United States District Attorney Morrison expressed the opinion that the punishment of the culprits in this case warranted the belief that "the Government is in a fair way of breaking up the entire reeking evil in the country." If District Attorney Morrison really thinks so, he must be green in the ways of crime.

The story is told in works on criminology, and as an evidence of the inefficiency of punishment as a suppressor of crime, that on one occasion, in London, at the very moment when a counterfeiter was being raised to the gallows, his pals were circulating counterfeits among the crowd, gathered at the foot of the scaffold to witness the execution. The dread of punishment, even if the punishment be death, never did and never could prevent the commission of crime. The idea that punishment could proceed from premises that are doubly false. In the first place it proceeds from blindness to the real cause of actual crime. The real cause of acts that deserve the name of crime, that is to say, that are committed with premeditation, is, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, the endeavor to support life conditions that shut out other accessible avenues to the same end. It is folly to imagine that the dread of punishment, even if the punishment be death, will cause people generally to prefer lying down and dying, rather than taking their chance to live. Much more so with regard to crimes that are not punished with death. In the second place crime is not a voluntary act. Crime is bred. Its hot-house is wrongful social conditions. The only preventive of crime is non-criminal social conditions.

The packers who were fined are but a product, bred of present society—a criminal capitalism—although in this and similar instances, the guilty are themselves promoters and upholders of such crime-breeding social conditions. Capitalist society renders life harder and harder. The struggle for life is intense, all along the social ladder. The criminals in this instance struggled to keep their heads above water. While, to a Hottentot, nakedness is full dress, to a civilized man nothing less than a full suit of clothes will stand; on the same principle a capitalist dies as a capitalist on that upon which some poor devil would consider himself affluent. It is unquestionable that at the very mo-

ment when the news was flashed across the country, and read by all, that the officers of the Schwarzschild & Sulzberger Packing Company were punished for conniving at railroad rebates, all other capitalist shippers were either practicing the same crime, or scheming how to commit it with impunity—just as the counterfeiter in the story at the foot of the gallows, where another counterfeiter was just being hanged.

If even the fear of the gallows will not deter men from earning such a living as society makes possible, is it imaginable that \$25,000 fines levied upon millionaires will?

FIRST PEACHES, NOW COAL.

Only the other day the public was informed that the peach crop was rotting up-State. The crop was plentiful; but seeing that its owners insisted on paying only starvation wages and even less than that to gatherers, none came and the crop was left to spoil. Now comes the news from Pittsburgh, Pa., that Mr. Francis L. Robbins, the President of the Pittsburgh Coal Co. and, also, together with John Mitchell, chairman of the Civic Federation's Department of Trade Agreements, is of the opinion that the output of coal is too large, on account of which "the operators are not making any money." Mr. Mitchell's associate Robbins proposes a very simple method to remedy the "evil." He proposes to reduce the output by means of a shutdown of at least one month; and he reasons further that the supply having been reduced below the demand the price will rise, and the operators will be happy. The gentleman puts his conclusion concretely into figures. Says he: "An advance of ten cents a ton on coal would mean an increase of \$2,000,000 in our receipts."

And is it for this that Nature toils and causes peach trees to bloom and bear their luscious fruit—only to rot on the branches as evidence of the divine right of the capitalist to superintend the crops? And it is for this that this earth-ball went through the geologic period of carbon-making—only to reduce the coal supply to coal-famine level in graphic illustration of the divine right of the coal-mine owners in those deposits? Mr. Baer said something to that effect during the great coal-strike of three years ago. Mr. Mitchell at that time fought Baer. Will he now announce a change of heart, now that his associate Robbins is acting upon Baer's motto? Surely Mr. Mitchell must do something of the sort. What would become of his favorite myth regarding the reciprocal interests of Capital and Labor, if he, "Labor," did not play shuttlecock and battledoor with his friend Robbins? Moreover, what an excellent opportunity is not now offered to Mr. Mitchell to prove the myth regarding the "reciprocal interests" of Capital and Labor, when his duped miners are to be laid off for a month or more and left to starve so that Mr. Robbins may make the \$2,000,000 which he is after? Mr. Mitchell could get Father Curran, who recently stood by him, to write another address for Mitchell to deliver proving the sanctity of Labor in its readiness to immolate itself in favor of the Robbinses.

Unfortunately, while Mitchell would be delivering the pious address, some pestiferous Industrial Workers of the World man would, ten to one, be distributing some Labor leaflet, showing that the Capitalist breeds famine, and coins famine into profits.

THE "SALOON" AND OTHER EFFECTS.

The following letter is not the first that has been addressed to this office upon the subject:

New York, Sept. 20, 1905.
Editor Daily People.

Dear Sir: Will you kindly inform me as to the position of the Socialist Labor Party on the Saloon, or Liquor traffic. Is it their intention to work against it with the object in view of eventually overthrowing the traffic? In other words, are they against the legalized saloon? If this is the case why is your platform silent about it? Is it not true that the laboring man is not in favor of closing the saloons?

Would be pleased to have an answer to these questions.

Yours respectfully,
Jos. Johnson.

18 Spruce street.

The position of the Socialist Labor Party begins and ends with two principles—one economic, the other sociologic. The economic principle is that involuntary poverty is ineradicable, and will continue to make ever wider and deeper inroads into the people's welfare, so long as the natural opportunities (land) and the equally essential social opportunities (capital) continue to be private property. In other words, the economic principle upon which the Socialist Labor Party is planted is that the method of produc-

tion having become integrally co-operative, the system of ownership, under which the necessities for production are held, must square with the method of production, and must be likewise collective. So long as the latter continues individual, while the former has become collective, poverty, misery and their long train of evils are unavoidable. The struggle for existence will breed and compel crime, and will incite bad habits.

The sociologic principle upon which the Socialist Labor Party is planted maintains that the issue is a revolutionary one; that it involves the evolution of society from the capitalist into the Socialist system, an evolution supplemental to that which this country traversed when it moved from the feudal into the capitalist stage; and that, the same as the latter evolution was compulsorily the task of the bourgeois or capitalist, this next evolution is the task of the Working Class, united on the political field to capture and overthrow the capitalist State, and united on the economic field to take and hold the above named natural and social opportunities, in order to operate them for use and not for private profit.

In a way all the questions put by our correspondent are inferentially answered by the above. We shall, nevertheless, take them up by the light of what precedes.

"The saloon," together with all the evils that arise therefrom, is no cause, except in the sense that all effects react back and intensify their cause. The abolition of the saloon would leave untouched the cause of widening and deepening popular misery. Supposing the saloon abolished, seeing that the cause of widening and deepening misery would continue, the effects of misery and of the struggle for life would find other channels to run into. Both De Quincey and Dickens tell of the increased sales of laudanum and opium in the manufacturing towns of England where the sale of intoxicants was forbidden. The unnatural conditions created by the private ownership of the necessities for production, now that production has become collective, on the one hand drives competing capital to some new wrongful method of sustaining itself as fast as it is driven from an old one: opium and laudanum are invested in instead of liquor; and on the other, stimulants or nerve-deadeners, which means pain-killers, are resorted to by the lower strata of society. The Socialist Labor Party, accordingly, while preaching sobriety and practicing, as its conduct proves, what it preaches, makes no more an issue of the liquor traffic, than it makes an issue of capital punishment, the Negro question, woman's rights, or any of the many issues which, however burning are not issues in themselves, but bubbleings on the surface of the great issue below—the Social Question. This being settled, the others settle of themselves.

So long as there is profit in liquor, drunkenness will exist. So long as the "sober," "Christian," "patriotic" Capitalist Class is in power, it will see to it that profit remains in liquor, and that drunkenness continues so as to stimulate the profits.

UNAVOIDABLENESS OF UNIONISM IN POLITICS.

A number of correspondents from the West and from the East are sending in questions that dovetail into one another, and that jointly turn upon the point of the relationship between the economic and the political organization. They will all be best answered by reproducing the answer made to a questioner at the Newark meeting where the address "The Burning Question of Trades Unionism" was delivered. The answer there given, and found among the answers at the close of the pamphlet containing that address, was as follows:

"Question by William Walker—I desire to ask the speaker whether he considers it wise for a political party to identify itself with a trades union organization if such identification causes the political party to be kept back?"

"Answer—This question is a begging of the question. It proceeds from assuming as settled the very premises that are under discussion. It proceeds from the assumption which I denied, that a party of Socialism can ignore the trades union. I shall nevertheless answer it. It enables me to take up the question anew by entering through another gate."

"Some eight months ago, when I last delivered an address here in Newark, a gentleman, who is now associated with the questioner in setting up here in Newark a so-called Essex County Independent Socialist Club, Mr. Harry Carless spoke after me and said in substance—the gentleman who just asked the question was present, he will admit that I quote my critic of that day correctly. My critic said: 'The Socialist Labor Party should have nothing to do with the trades unions. Affiliation with trades unions keeps the Party back. A political party wants to take in as many people as possible. It wants to be as large as possible. A union does not. I am a mem-

ber of a union, the Silver Polishers,' and I am also a Socialist. My union had a meeting this very afternoon; all that they want is to get higher wages and to keep all others of the trade out. They adopted a resolution along this line, and I voted with them in the interest of the organization. Now, their position, like that of all unions, is purely selfish. What has the Socialist Labor Party to do with such things? It should keep its hands off. If it does not it will suffer."

"My answer was this: 'The gentleman furnishes me with the very facts that overthrow him. He is a member of a trades union that wishes to keep out applicants. What would be his fix in a Socialist party? Say his Socialist organization is in session in the evening and the men whom he, along with the other members of his trades union, refused admission in the afternoon, knock at the door applying for membership. What will he do? He correctly stated that a political party needs numbers. He will have to admit them into his Socialist party organization. And what will happen when those men come in and hear him making a grandiloquent speech on the "solidarity of labor," on the "necessity of working-men to unite," on the "brotherhood of the wage slave," and on all those things that a Socialist, a good Socialist, as the gentleman says he is, is bound to emphasize? What do you think will happen, when the men whom he has just voted to keep out of his union hear him thus glibly declaiming? (Uproarious laughter.) Why, they'll say he is a hypocrite; they'll denounce him roundly for preaching one thing and practicing another. They will even bring charges against him. And if his organization is really a Socialist organization he will be expelled, and justly so. But even if it does not come so far, he will have discovered that a Socialist party cannot play ostrich on the economic or trades union question. If it is a party of Socialism, it is a party of Labor. In a party of Socialism the trades union is latent. It cannot be ignored. It will not ignore you. (Loud applause.)"

"But suppose, I went on to say, 'that, feeling a presentiment of what is in store for him if he votes to admit them into his party organization, he votes to keep them out. What will he have done then? He will have impressed upon his political organization, which wants large numbers, the characteristics of the backward pure and simple union with which he blandly floats along—another evidence that the trades union question is bound to assert itself.' Was not that the answer I gave your friend? With what face can you, then, come here to-night and ask the question that you did?"

"There is no such thing as a political party of Labor 'having nothing to do with the Unions.' It has. It must either inspire the union with the broad political purpose, and thus dominate it by warring on the labor fakir and on the old guild notions that hamstringing the Labor Movement, or it is itself dragged down to the selfish trade interests of the economic movement, and finally drawn down into the latter's subservience to the capitalist interests that ever fasten themselves to the selfish trade interests on which the labor fakir, or labor lieutenant of the capitalist class, thrives."

A political party of Socialism can not escape the question of Unionism—any more than the Union can escape politics.

"The Sun" of September 25 contained the following:

"Head of Hungry Family Dead, Stricken With Apoplexy as He Set Out to Seek Aid."

"Charles Fredericks, 46 years old, a mechanic, of 1139 Manhattan avenue, Greenport, set out from his home early yesterday morning to find friends who would give him money with which to buy food for his family. He had been out of work and his wife and five small children suffered greatly for the want of proper nourishment. The destitute condition of his family had worried him. On reaching the sidewalk he was stricken with apoplexy, and was dead on the arrival of Ambulance Surgeon Gordon of St. Catherine's Hospital. When the police undertook to remove the body to Fredericks's home they were met by his widow, who said she was too poor to bury the body. An investigation showed that the family was in the most destitute condition."

"The police sent the body to the station house and later it was transferred to the Morgue."

"The Sun" does not comment on such cases as one of the symptoms of "our" much vaunted "prosperity." The reason is obvious.

"Language," says Tallyrand, "was made to conceal thought." The capitalist press is now doing its best to prove that the diplomat spoke the truth. Touching upon the revelations of the Insurance Investigation regarding the Equitable, it says that "large profits went astray," thus trying to conceal all thought of theft and wrong-doing. Fortunately though, the facts produced make such concealment impossible. Truth, like murder, will out!

"What Kansas Did to the Standard Oil Co"

Miss Ida M. Tarbell is the able foe of the Standard Oil Company and the ardent champion of the "independent oil producer." As such she is opposed to concentration and advocates competition. In the October "McClure's Magazine" Miss Tarbell tells of "What Kansas Did To The Standard Oil Co."

By "Kansas," let it be first explained, Miss Tarbell means primarily the independent oil producers of that State, whose economic interests were threatened with subjugation and absorption by the Standard Oil Co., which had secret rate agreements with the railroads, owned all the pipe lines and refineries and afforded the only market of importance. These gentlemen, comprising the greater part of the "400 companies, averaging 500 stockholders apiece, 20,000 in all; 5,000 individual operators, and 6,000 land owners who had given leases," involved in the struggle with the Standard Oil, and organized in the "Oil Producers' Association," launched a movement to protect their interests. By means of the press and the postoffice, they arranged mass meetings, secured the presentation of petitions and protests, and in other ways, captured the Kansas Legislature and gained the passage of four bills affording them a measure of the relief desired. Second, by means of a legislative investigation inspired by themselves, they forced the Santa Fe Railroad into a compromise favorable to their interests, in the matter of fuel and rates. Third, they secured offers from foreign independent marketing concerns "to take at least 10,000 barrels a day if it could be delivered at the Gulf." For this purpose "they have organized a company which has secured from various operators in Kansas and Indian Territory over 11,000 barrels of daily oil production, together with 100,000 acres of oil leases. This company proposes to build a pipe line to the Gulf, and it has already negotiated a loan of \$7,500,000 with which to do the work." Miss Tarbell cites the Pure Oil Company, a Pennsylvania competitor of the Standard Oil Co., organized under similar conditions to the Kansas Co., in order to illustrate the latter's prospects. Says she: "On a paid in capital of about \$4,500,000 the Pure Oil Company has been able to increase its assets to some \$7,500,000, paid for entirely out of its earnings. In the last two years it has invested, out of its earnings, over \$2,000,000 in production, in increasing its pipe lines in West Virginia and Ohio, in building marketing stations, and in erecting a refinery costing nearly half a million dollars."

All of Miss Tarbell's article makes interesting reading. From it one sees not only what "Kansas" did to the Standard Oil Co., but what "Kansas" did to itself in doing it. Thereby hangs a moral that escaped Miss Tarbell; that demonstrates the fallacy of the "independent" delusion, with all that is related thereto. The "independents" in fighting the Standard Oil Co. have transformed themselves into interdependents, and in so doing they have aided concentration and given competition a blow in the head that is sending it spinning.

Look at the facts of Miss Tarbell's story as above substantially presented: what do they show if not the same tendencies to legislative manipulation, the same coercion of railroads in the matter of rates and fuel, the same concentration of capital, and the same spreading of its "octopus-like tentacles" (illustrated more forcibly in the case of the Pure Oil Co.), as characterized the growth of the Standard Oil Company? Leaving aside Miss Tarbell's presentation of the Kansas oil producers as men possessing all the virtues the Standard Oil Company lacks—a presentation that such a little business-deal as the compromise with the Santa Fe does not sustain—the facts presented by her show unmistakably the tendency from small to large production that is forced by competition and that is sounding the latter's death knell. The Kansas oil producers have taken one of the many steps in evolution that are fast leading to revolution: the steps from individual, to stock company, trust, and social ownership and production—from Capitalism to Socialism.

Every Socialist wishes the "independents" well; "may they succeed" is his prayer, for the more they succeed the more intense grows competition and the more intense competition grows the more intense grows concentration: The Rothschild-Nobel oil interests once combated those of Rockefeller, but competition soon taught them that concentration is more profitable: A few more tussles and the news will be flashed forth that the Kansas Oil Co., the Pure Oil Co. and the Standard Oil Co., have agreed upon "a community of interests." History repeats itself quite often, especially in modern industry.

Let more States rise up and show "What Kansas Did To The Standard Oil Co." Such doings denote progress—away from Capitalism and toward Socialism.



UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN.

UNCLE SAM—The general discontent—

BROTHER JONATHAN—Bother the general discontent; I call it the general stupidity.

U. S.—You may be right; if people know what this capitalism means from which they expect a living while it will assuredly deal death to them—

B. J.—That is not what I mean. That's all stuff about capitalism dealing death. What I mean is if people were not so stupid they would know in what way they could improve their condition and turn capitalism to good use.

U. S.—And what is your way?

B. J.—I shall state my way if you have time to listen to me, because I shall want to state systematically.

U. S.—"Systematically" is good; let her rip.

B. J.—We are two here, you and I.

U. S.—That's profoundly true.

B. J.—If there is only one hat produced by us, we could not each have a hat, could we?

U. S.—That's another chunk of unquestionable wisdom.

B. J.—For each to have a hat, we must produce two hats, not so?

U. S.—We could not each have one if there were not two hats.

B. J.—Now, that is the A. B. C. of the whole question.

U. S.—That seems very simple, but it may be too simple; it is certainly too simple for me.

B. J.—It follows from this A. B. C. that all that is needed is to increase production. If we can produce four hats we shall each have two; if we can produce a hundred hats we shall each have fifty—

U. S.—Not so fast.

B. J.—If our people could only increase the amount of the wealth produced, all would be hunky. He who has a million would have two millions; he who has \$5,000 would have \$10,000; he who has \$1,000 would have \$2,000; and the poor workingman, who to-day has nothing, would have—

U. S.—Twice as much; twice nothing is nothing.

B. J.—How you talk.

U. S.—Surely not like a booby as you do. Your "system" of reasoning amounts to this: "The more the workers produce the more they will get!"

B. J.—That's just it.

U. S.—And that is just nonsense. The fact and the reason is just the reverse: "The more the workers produce the less they get."

B. J.—Absurd!

U. S.—What enables the workingman to produce more?

B. J.—The machine.

U. S.—Say that in a room 100 men are at work without the machine and they earn \$2 apiece—

B. J.—Very well.

U. S.—A machine is brought in by which 50 men can produce more than 100 before. Do not these 50 men now turn out more goods?

B. J.—They do.

U. S.—Are the other 50 kept at work?

B. J.—No, they are discharged.

U. S.—As far as these 50 are concerned, to begin with, your "system" falls through; more is produced, and they get nothing, being thrown out of work.

B. J.—Hem!

U. S.—Now, let us return to the 50 who are kept at work.

B. J.—Well, they get something.

U. S.—That is not enough for your "system"; they must not only get "something," they must get more than they did before, because they are producing more. Now, do they get more?

B. J.—W-I-I—

U. S.—No, they don't.

B. J.—But they don't get any less.

U. S.—At first, not; later on, yes. The men who are thrown out of work won't starve; they'd rather work for \$1 than do nothing and die. So they apply for work at \$1. And the result is that whereas before 100 men were getting \$2 apiece, now that the labor in that shop turns out with the machine more than before, 50 of the men get nothing and go tramping, and the other 50 get one-half of what they got before.

(Continued on page 5.)

CORRESPONDENCE

CORRESPONDENTS WHO PREFER TO APPEAR IN PRINT UNDER AN ASSUMED NAME WILL ATTACH SUCH NAME TO THEIR COMMUNICATIONS, BESIDES THEIR OWN SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS. NONE OTHER WILL BE RECOGNIZED.

VEAL'S GOOD WORK IN LAWRENCE, MASS.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—During the week of Sept. 18, Section Lawrence had Tri-State Organizer Philip Veal with us. We held three open air meetings at the corners of Jackson and Essex street. On Friday evening, Sept. 23, Local No. 30 of the I. W. W. held a mass meeting in Weaver's Hall, 313 Common street, at which Leo Vandorno spoke in French and Veal followed with an address in English on the old and new trade Unionism. The address was well received. We took in four new members.

On Saturday night we held one of the best meetings ever held here. Veal spoke to an audience of over five hundred people. He poured hot shot into the labor fakirs and the A. F. of H.-L. At the close of the meeting several questions were asked. One fakir said that if Veal went into the coal regions that the mine workers would kill him. Veal showed the audacity of this character in putting his class in the category of murderers. The fellow left the audience amid the jeers of the crowd.

After the meeting was over, groups of men stood discussing the principles of the A. F. of L. and the I. W. W. Frank Wooster.

Lawrence, Mass., Sept. 25.

A BLUFF THAT FAILED.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—On Sunday, Sept. 24th, Comrades Curtis, Ball, Repahlager, Carlson and Juhlén, of Buffalo, came over to this town, to give the new Section a lift. They attended our business meeting, where Comrade Carlson made himself very useful, by explaining to the Swedish comrades some important questions on principles and Party matters. At this meeting, four new members were admitted to the Section. The Swedish literary agent reported thirty-five Swedish pamphlets sold during the week.

After the business meeting we went over to the Brooklyn Square, to start an open air meeting. As soon as Comrade Curtis mounted the box, a policeman made his appearance and requested the comrade to stop speaking, it being against the rule to allow political meetings on Sunday. But the bluff wouldn't work on the S. L. P. The Mayor was called up, and his consent secured to continue the meeting. By this time, a good sized crowd gathered, and Comrade Curtis held forth for over an hour.

Twenty Swedish pamphlets, a few English, and several copies of the Weekly People were sold at this meeting. The visit of the Buffalo comrades has done much good to this young Section, in many ways.

I inclose clipping from to-day's "Morning Post" reporting our meeting.

O. B.

Jamestown, N. Y., Sept. 24.

[Enclosure]
SOCIALIST MEETING.

Officer Delayed It for a Time but Did Not Stop It.

A group of about 75 men gathered in Brooklyn Square yesterday afternoon, shortly after 5 o'clock, to hear C. E. Curtis of Buffalo set forth the claims of the Socialist Labor Party. As the orator was about to begin his address Officer Simon Peterson appeared on the scene and told the speaker that he would arrest him if he attempted to proceed. He claimed that he was acting under authority and that it was improper to hold open air political meetings on the Sabbath.

Some of the adherents of the speaker went to the telephone in the Humphrey House and communicated with Mayor Johnson. After some parley it was decided that the meeting could proceed. For an hour or more Mr. Curtis went over the argument usually heard at Socialist meetings.

PASSAIC COUNTY AGITATION.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Passaic County Section S. L. P., held a successful street meeting Wednesday evening, Sept. 13, corner Church and Market streets, Paterson. A. Sater held an attentive audience till ten o'clock, notwithstanding the cold and unpleasant wind. It was a typical mid-week working class gathering—no money with them; could not buy books, only 4 sold. Friday evening, Sept. 15th, we held our regular educational class with good attendance.

Last Friday evening was regular discussion session. The matter of endorsing the movement to change the S. L. P. constitution in conformity with the I. W. W. was proposed and laid over till next Friday evening. In order to attend lecture of Jewish Branch, held in the same hall, an adjournment of

the Section meeting took place early.

Timothy Walsh addressed a street meeting last Saturday evening, corner Church and Market streets this city. The class struggle was placed before the audience in a manner that could be understood by the least informed. In the opinion of the writer, most of our speakers talk over the heads of their audience, but surely that was not the case at this meeting.

Reference to our literature was frequently made, resulting in 31 books being sold and about 400 leaflets "Some Things A Workingman Should Know" were distributed. There were many who remained throughout the meeting; the writer heard the remark "I had something that should be done but I must let that go—I am going to stay and hear this Socialist, he is telling a fact". Another incident: The speaker took a drink from a bottle; a man said to himself aloud "Is he drinking whiskey?" Then he read aloud "Socialist Labor Party"—"no that ain't whiskey".

The trade union phase was well handled, culminating in the logical union, Industrial Workers of the World.

Fraternally,

R. Berdan.

Paterson, Sept. 25.

DAN HOGAN ANSWERS.

To the Daily and Weekly People:

If inquirers of Chillicothe, O., are looking for the lost heir of some rich estate, "Yes;" if for an absconding debtor or burglar, "No."

But seriously, will say that I have never lived in Ohio, but am a native of Sebastian County, Arkansas.

Dan Hogan.

Huntington, Ark., Sept. 22.

NOTES WITH JOY THE PROGRESS OF THE I. W. W. IN THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

To the Daily and Weekly People:

Inclosed you will find P. O. money order in settlement of my account with The Daily People, as per bill rendered. Please accept my thanks besides. The Stenographic Report of the Chicago Convention was well worth more than we had to pay for it. I have read it quite carefully and think I have a very good idea of what took place at that important meeting. Nevertheless, I shall want a copy of the Report when it comes out in book form, which I hope will not be many weeks hence. I should like to take The Daily People all the time, but in the present state of my finances I must content myself with The Weekly People.

It does my heart good to see the progress that is being made by the Industrial Workers of the World. The new organization cannot fail, as the movement is most opportune (I mean opportune in the correct sense of the term, as being in harmony with present day industrial evolution). I am glad to note that Dan Hogan, Socialist Party State Secretary of Arkansas, and some others in the Socialist Party (in fact, all the student element in that organization—about 10 per cent. of the whole), are turning favorable ears to the arguments for industrial organization. Those who are not students and those who have some selfish motives for wishing it to fail are fighting the new organization. Their efforts will fail, for, as Debs says, "The new union is sound to the core and cannot fail." *Ca ira! Ca ira!*

Kansas is an agricultural State, but there are several large towns in the State where an I. W. W. organizer could get an attentive hearing and, no doubt, several locals could be organized.

Appreciating the excellent work The People is doing for the cause of Industrial Unionism, I remain very truly yours,

C. C. Rolfe.

Erie, Kansas, Sept. 25.

TIMELY QUESTIONS.

To the Daily and Weekly People:

Suppose that a member of the I. W. W. should be employed in a shop or other place where a strike was on, called by a "pure and simple" union, should the I. W. W. man receive a strike benefit from the I. W. W.? Or suppose an employer should check off dues against an I. W. W. man in favor of a "pure and simple" union, should the I. W. W. submit to the imposition, or what steps should be taken?

It seems to us that both incidents might serve us in the matter of agitation. As both are likely to occur, some plan ought to be made so that we could act promptly.

Theo. Bernine.

Indianapolis, Ind., Sept. 26.

WHERE THE SPIRIT OF REVOLUTION IS RIFE.

To the Daily and Weekly People:

Since leaving the comrades in Taco-

ma I have been traveling around considerably, and have had but little opportunity to work for our paper. However, as a farewell to the comrades for at least eight months, I send twelve yearly subscriptions to The Weekly People and one of the "Arbetaren."

Comrades, I find that the workers here are ripe for the revolution. The miners almost unanimously prevailed upon me to speak to them upon Socialism this evening, and to-morrow I shall comply with their request.

Since coming here I have had the opportunity of speaking to my fellow-workers upon this question, and oh! how triumphantly the workers receive the new light.

Revolution would soon be a reality if all the country had the spirit they have here; and you know that the average wages are considerably higher here than in most places, being \$3.50 for most men here.

Men in these parts travel and see the many phases of capitalism, and being more of a cosmopolitan populace, they can more easily understand the class struggle. If I should stay here I am sure I could organize here, but as I will be going Sunday I will not have time.

I will leave the battle now only to return again with renewed vigor and enthusiasm. I am going to the Yellow Land Pass country and trap this winter. Will come out in the spring and spend all my time in the cause.

Your comrade,

William Bonstein.

Hedley, B. C., Sept. 16.

WHAT IS "IRISH FREEDOM?"

To the Daily and Weekly People:

The enclosed letter to the "Gaelic American" is my reply to an invitation to renewal of my subscription, and, as I believe, it will not be published in the G. A. I would like, if the space can be spared, to have it published in our paper, so that it may arouse some of our Irish comrades to help me in my endeavor to have some of the "Irish Leaders" tell the rank and file what they mean by the expression "Irish Freedom."

M. D. F.

To the Gaelic American:

The invitation to renew my subscription to the Gaelic American lies before me and causes many conflicting emotions to rise within me. It is more than thirty years ago since I enlisted, with the highest ideals of freedom prompting me, to aid in establishing and defending a republican form of government in Ireland, and the many noble-minded comrades I found in the Napper Tundy Club of that time were an example and inspiration to me. Many of them are dead, and perhaps not more than one (Harry Gill) lives, that I can claim continuous acquaintance with.

However, I have not been inactive in working for and studiously considering the various methods of "freeing Ireland," and contemplating the men who in the "Irish Press" and elsewhere appear before the public as champions of "Irish Freedom," but I regret to say that I have been unable to find a clear definition of what is meant by "Irish Freedom." I cannot find it in perusing the columns of the Gaelic American, and it certainly is to-day the most consistent, the most able and, I believe, the most honest expression of the aspirations of the Irish Nationalists to be found. It teaches a line of action that history proves to be the only one that has ever proved successful in establishing a political republic in contradistinction to monarchy, constitutional or despotic. It teaches the Irish race to expect no help from their oppressors or those whose class interests makes them enemies of "Irish Freedom," and it consistently opposes the political trimmers and compromisers, who, while holding up in a platform sense the principles of Emmet, Tone and Fitzpatrick, Judas-like betray the "Sacred cause of Irish Freedom" for a "guaranteed land sale" and a laborer's hut for the poor oppressed and robbed farm laborers of Ireland; and even these miserable achievements are obtained through the magnanimity of the titled robbers who sit in the English House of Lords.

It is because of all this that I regret that my conception of Irish Freedom will not permit me to renew my subscription to the Gaelic American. The sum involved in dollars is not considerable, but I am not and never will line up on any side just for the sake of lending a nominal support to a movement. I believe that such support has done much to retard the political freedom of Ireland.

In contemplating the spirit of real freedom for the oppressed of every land the words of Davis recur to me:

"Oh, for a steed a rushing steed, and dear Poland gathered around, To smite her circle of savage foes and strew them upon the ground! Oh, for a steed, a rushing steed, and a rifle that never failed, And a terrible tribe of Prairie men by despotic valor mailed,

Until Stripes and Stars and Russian Czars Before the Red Indian quailed."

Here in a free republic one can contemplate freedom but not experience it, because political freedom is but the shadow and must have its national existence in economic or industrial freedom, and I therefore say:

Oh, for a Press, a manly Press, where freedom is defined, And clear-cut words that breathe but truth,

Proclaiming Freedom to all mankind!

You may remember some letters of a controversial nature that I sent you in regard to an editorial that appeared in the columns of the Gaelic American signed I. R. B. I am, whether justly or not, of the opinion that the questions I raised and the proof I asked for were not answered, nor proofs of your assertions furnished, and my last letter published was so erroneously composed that I can hardly believe it to be the result of typographical error. However, at the time I sent you a letter correcting the errors and calling your attention to the fact that I, as a correspondent, and "the office," as Judge and Jury, had taken enough of space, without any result other than assertions without proof, and that it would be well to hear from the rank and file. This letter of about 300 words was not published. My friend "G." informed me it was mislaid at the office.

Whenever and wherever I hear or read of the Irish Cause being traduced or misrepresented I always endeavor to resent it to the best of my ability. Likewise, as a member of the Socialist Labor Party, wherever and whenever I find a misrepresentation or a vilification of a movement of such stupendous importance, to the wage-working class of the world as is Socialism, I rise to defend it. Thus it was that I wrote to refute the false statements appearing in your columns in regard to Socialism, even though you did not throw open the columns of your paper to discussion as to the truths of your statements and my refutation of them. I received a letter on the subject from a correspondent who is one of the rank and file and one of your earliest subscribers, in which he expressed the hope that the matter would be more fully discussed. If you decide to publish this letter you have my permission, and if you desire to obtain an authentic statement of the attitude of organized Socialism toward a settlement of the "Irish Question," I would most respectfully request you to read that publication, "Erin's Hope," that I sent to you through my friend G.

Yours for the Irish Socialist Republic,
M. D. Fitzgerald.

7 Greenwood Park, Dorchester, Mass.

AS TO ARTICLE II, SECTION 7, OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

To the Sections of the S. L. P.:

Greeting—Seeing that Section Monroe County overlooked one paragraph of our constitution that should have been dealt with in the resolutions that were submitted to your consideration and published in The Daily People of Sept. 23, we herewith wish to complete our work by adding the following:

Resolved, That Art. 7, Sec. 6 of our Constitution be stricken out.

Sections that are willing to indorse our propositions will please take notice and inclose this in their indorsement. Letters received by this Section and other events indicate that there is some misunderstanding as to our aim and intention. As there might be others who are not clear on that point, we feel constrained to give some explanations. Our intention is to indorse the I. W. W., and our resolutions mean that, even if they are not labeled "Indorsement." The first resolution is intended to correct the sense in the resolution on the "Trade Union Attitude of the Socialist Labor Party," which was adopted by the Eleventh National Convention of 1904, and subsequently adopted by general vote.

In the third resolution, which relates to the changing of Art. II, Sec. 9, we simply want to make legal what our Organizers are now doing.

By this practical indorsement members will not only be allowed to hold office in the I. W. W., but will also be urged to become members of the I. W. W., and therefore the party fulfills merely a duty, which was recognized as being a duty by the International Socialist Congresses of Brussels, Zurich and London.

Now as to Art. II, Sec. 7, "A," which reads:

"Every economic organization that is not indorsed by the Socialist Labor Party or affiliated with it is defined as a pure and simple trade organization."

It might seem to some that the words "or affiliated with it" becomes superfluous. We maintain, however, that they are not, because they shall denote that the S. L. P. is not satisfied with a mere-

ly platonic relationship, as is created by an indorsement, but that we must and (as we hope) will strive for an affiliation.

Since there has been submitted another proposition on the same matter by Section New York, we must say that their proposition is at least very defective, if not practically reactive.

1. It leaves the resolution of the "Trade Union Attitude of the Socialist Labor Party" untouched, as a result of which it becomes a stumbling block in the future.

2. It would render an extremely important paragraph in our constitution entirely negative, while our movement is expressly positive, and marching on in the foremost line of human development towards civilization, and it certainly owes to its members and recruits a pointer as to their obligation.

3. Its definition of pure and simple trade unionism is no definition, at least it would need another definition more bulky than the first.

For instance, should it be sufficient if a trade union admits none but wage-workers and adopts a platonic resolution of sympathy with Socialism, to be recognized as a bonafide labor organization? On the other hand, are there not comrades who maintain that even the I. W. W. is a pure and simple union? Are we going to allow our members to become leaders in half a dozen or more independent organizations, and thereby postpone and also intensify the conflict that some members seem to be determined to raise? Comrades, we call on you to consider the matter carefully and be well aware that it is easy to retrograde into the stage of development in which the party stood before the organization of the S. L. and L. A., but that it will be twice as hard a second time to again reach the present state of unity.

By indorsing the I. W. W. and challenging them to affiliate we take a manly stand, and if the unexpected should happen and this organization should develop like a cow's tail in regard to principle, then we will have preserved our unity and be manly enough to turn our back to it.

Those Sections that are willing to indorse our proposition please communicate with the undersigned.

From Section Monroe County, S. P. L.

John C. Vollersten, Organizer.

72 Poplar St., Rochester, N. Y.

Rochester, N. Y., Sept. 25.

NEW INCORPORATIONS.

New York State Heads the List for the Month of September.

The aggregate capitalization of the corporations formed this month under the laws of New York, New Jersey, Maine and West Virginia with a capital of \$1,000,000 and upward, is \$53,150,000, a falling off of \$6,225,000 as compared with last month, and a decrease of \$13,050,000, as compared with September 1904. The total for September is the smallest of any month during the current year, and the same is true of last year, with the exception of August, which totaled only \$32,500,000.

New York takes the lead as an incorporating State this month. Companies with a combined capitalization of \$26,900,000, which is a gain over last month of \$17,575,000, were incorporated here. New Jersey is second with a total capitalization of \$14,250,000, more than \$4,000,000 less than the total for last month, and Maine, which occupied first place in August, ranks third this month, with the small total of \$11,000,000, a falling off of \$18,550,000, as compared with last month. West Virginia has one \$1,000,000 company. The largest concern taking out incorporation papers during the month was the Manhattan & Long Island Railroad Co., under the laws of New York, with a capital of \$10,000,000. The next largest was the Datas Diamond Dredging Co., also incorporated in New York, with a capital of \$8,000,000, while the Interstate Tunnel Railway Co., with a capital of \$7,500,000, which took out incorporation papers in New Jersey, was the only other large company of note.

A striking feature of the month's record is that Maine, which has heretofore proved such a popular State for the incorporation of new enterprises, has up to the present time not a single company with a capital stock in excess of \$1,000,000.

During the month two companies made application for an increase in their capital stock. The United States Independent Telephone Co. yesterday filed papers at Trenton increasing its authorized capital stock from \$100,000 to \$50,000,000, and the New York Independent Telephone Co., an affiliated concern, filed papers at Albany recently, increasing its capital stock to a like amount.

BASKY'S RETURN TOUR.

October 3-6 Pittsburgh, Pa.

Oct. 14 New York.

Oct. 15-16 Philadelphia, Pa.

Oct. 17-21 Baltimore, Md.

Oct. 22-31 New York.

Nov. 1-5 Boston, Mass.

LETTER-BOX

OFF-HAND ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

NO QUESTIONS WILL BE CONSIDERED THAT COME IN ANONYMOUS LETTERS. ALL LETTERS MUST CARRY A BONA FIDE SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS.

J. C. R., BOSTON, MASS., AND F. H. W., DECATUR, WASH.—Matter is referred to the department of poetry.

J. F., MADISON, WIS.—Where combination is possible, competition, though not immediately impossible, is bound to become more and more so.

C. H., NEW YORK.—The political movement, with prospect of a seat in Congress, or other legislative halls, has a great charm for the "intellectual." It holds out to him the prospect of political mince—a thing that all lightheads delight in. It is so easy; it is so showy; above all, is so safe.

H. C. F., ALLEGHENY, PA.—The name "Industrial Workers of the World" is virtually the new name of the old "International"—but up to date.

F. A. N., SPRINGFIELD, MASS.—The exact figures for 1880 are: Value of "product of manufacture," \$1,885,861,676; wages paid, \$378,878,968. So you see 20 per cent. is correct. In the address, you will notice, it is expressly stated that the figures are given in "round numbers" so as to be more easily remembered. You overlooked that. Nevertheless, your query is welcome. As they are stated, the figures do suggest an error in the 20 per cent. conclusion. In the corrected edition of the Minneapolis address, which will appear in the Weekly immediately following, the figures will be given in full in foot notes.

L. S. V., TORONTO, CANADA.—The matter has run the only course that such matters can run. That there could be no political unity of Socialism except upon sound economic organization, was a principle that had to be demonstrated by experience. No theorizing on the subject could stand. Bona fide Socialists who thought differently had to make their own experience. They have made it. The result was the I. W. W. Social evolution goes about with geologic precision. The first thing for political unity was the furnishing of the basis for such unity. That basis having been furnished jointly by enlightened S. P. and the S. L. P. men, the immediate result is what you see—a steadily coming together of the real Socialists.

T. H. A., FITCHBURG, MASS.—The question of communal freedom depends wholly upon the material facts of production. Any other manner of treatment is Utopian. Now, what are the facts? Production has become integral. As a matter of fact no community in the land is self-supporting. They all co-operate, and the transportation industry links San Francisco and Fitchburg together. Consequently, such a thing as "communal freedom" is an Utopian notion. Industries and not communities are social units. To turn this ground would mean to cripple the plentifulness of production.

"INDUSTRIAL WORKER", BROOKLYN, N. Y.—1st, The statement that Mr. Gompers has stock or a share in the Milwaukee "Social Democratic Herald" appeared in the Daily People of Sept. 19, over the signature of John Herold of Milwaukee, in a letter to his former party members, stating that he withdrew from the Social Democratic party, and his reasons why. The letter was also published in the Weekly People of Sept. 19, in both instances under the caption "Rumblings and Explosions." Communi-

2nd, All the city papers that reported the interview held with Belmont by the Committee of which Morris Braun was a member reported that to have been the committee's language, and Mr. Braun, who was not yet the candidate of the S. D. P., did not deny it.

J. S. BROOKLYN, N. Y.—That was not the only typographical error in the Minneapolis address. There were also a "pi" or two. You will have to take the Weekly. The address will there be published in one issue, with all mistakes eliminated.

T. S. P., SCHENECTADY, N. Y.—Capital is both conservative and riotously revolutionary. Often in these columns has the luminous observation of P. J. Dunning been quoted: "Capital is said by a Quarterly Reviewer to fly turbulence and strife, and to be timid, which is very true; but this is very incompletely stating the question. Capital achieves no profit, or very small profit, just as Nature was formerly said to abhor a vacuum. With adequate profit, capital is bold. A certain 10 per cent. will ensure its employment anywhere; 20 per cent. certain will produce eagerness; 50

per cent. positive audacity; 100 per cent. will make it ready to trample on all human laws; 350 per cent, and there is not a crime at which it will scruple, nor a risk it will not run, even to the chance of its owner being hanged. If turbulence and strife will bring profit, it will freely encourage both."

A. F., CLEVELAND, O.—Try De Quincy, "The Logic of Political Economy." It is a good drill treatise.

R. P. F., NEW ORLEANS, LA.—May later on review the pamphlet "The New and Higher Unionism". In the meantime, please answer us these two questions:

1st, Are you not old enough to have found out that the "per capita" prosperity, that capitalist publications dote upon, is a snare and a delusion? Upon the "per capita" principle, the annual income of a trackman on the N. Y. Central, who actually receives only 80 cents a day, and the income of Deput, who receives \$50,000 a year, would be \$25,120. Per capita conceal lies—everywhere, New Zealand included.

2nd, Where did you get the idea from that Labor "rules" New Zealand? As a matter of fact, that is not true. If it were true, Labor would be making a botch of it. On our desk lies the latest report from N. Z., howling on the subject of the unemployed.

N. T. K., ALBANY, N. Y.—Now there will be Socialist political unity. None could be before. Contradictions can not be blinded. The A. F. of L. and bona fide Unionism don't go together. The I. W. W. builds solid on solid ground. See above to L. S. V., Toronto.

6-10 A. D., N. Y.—Here is a short list of books that will serve your purpose: Begin with Morgan's "Ancient Society." For the early nations, take Rawlinson's "Ancient Egypt," Bostford's "History of Greece," Morey's "Outlines of Roman History," and Myer's "Ancient History," for one or two minor nations. For the modern political states, read Montgomery's "Leading Facts of English History," Henderson's "History of Germany," Adams' "Growth of the French Nation," Liassagary's "History of the Commune," and Montgomery's "Student's American History." In connection with these, it would be well to read the "Mysteries of the People," by Sue, so far as they have been published. They will illustrate and vivify the dry facts.

ALL OTHERS—Kindly wait till next week.

J. B., HARTFORD, CONN.—By orders of the N. E. C. space is not allowed in The People for local financial reports. They are always too long.

H. T., CINCINNATI, O.; E. R. M., BRADDOCK, PA.; M. R., NEWPORT, NEWS, VA.; W. H. R., PETERSBURG, ALASKA; J. S. W., SCHENECTADY, N. Y.; W. W., ST. LOUIS, MO.; B. S. F., CINCINNATI, O.; H. B. A., LONDON, ONT.; J. S., BUTTE, MONT.; A. H., ST. LOUIS, MO.; F. G. A., JACKSONVILLE, ILL.; S. V., YONKERS, N. Y.; F. K., MONTREAL, CANADA; J. E. G., ST. LOUIS, MO.; "FRIEND", TACOMA, WASH.; W. B., HEDLEY, B. C.; L. H., NEW YORK CITY; L. F., TIEN-TSIN, CHINA.—Matter received.

UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN.

(Continued from page four.)

fore. That is the cause of the discontent.

B. J. remains dumb. U. S.—I shall now return to what I was going to say:

The discontent is so widespread and the experience of the people is becoming so extensive that the cries of the capitalist parties will not fool them much longer. They have been fooled by the money and tariff questions so long that they are now tired of such. They are ready for the seed of Socialism. He who does not preach the straightest goods is either too ignorant for a preacher or is a knave. This capitalist system must go and make room for the Socialist Commonwealth. Nothing short of this will do. So long as this capitalist system lasts the people will not only be paupers, but will be pauperized worse and worse. Your idiotic theory that I just pumped all the wind out of helps to suggest the enormous criminality and insanity of a social system a feature of which is that the larger the stores of wealth, the poorer are the producers. Away with it! And to you I would suggest that you do some thinking before you shoot off your mouth as you have just done.

THE PREAMBLE OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3.)

zation of the Working Class. Now, mind you, that MIGHT the Labor Movement needs, as much, I would almost say, against the political Movements which its own breath heats into being, as against the capitalist tyrant himself. It needs that Might against the capitalist tyrant to put the quietus upon him; it also needs that Might to prevent the evil consequences to which, in this corrupt atmosphere of bourgeois society, the political Movement is inevitably exposed. The two points are vital. Much, infinitely more than appears at first sight, hangs thereby.

Despite the sharply marked economic feature of the Labor Movement, the principle, that it is bound to take on a political form also, is founded on no fine-spun theory. Even discounting the force of the sociologic arguments that I have presented to you, and which point to the inevitableness of the political manifestation of the Labor Movement, there is a consideration that I have referred to only incidentally so far, and which, when properly weighed, places the matter beyond the peradventure of a doubt. That consideration is the existence of universal suffrage in the land. The institution is so bred in the bones of the people that, notwithstanding it has become a gravel in the shoe of the capitalist, he, powerful though he is, dare not abolish it outright. Among such a people, chimerical is the idea of expecting to conduct a great Movement, whose palpable aim is a Socialist Revolution, to the slogan of "Abstention from the Ballot-box." The proposition cannot choose but brand its supporters as freaks. Whether the economic Movement wills it or not, its political phase will assert itself on the political field. Men from its own ranks, and men from outside of its ranks, will raise the standard of Labor politics. Nor will the capitalist be slow in endeavoring, while humoring the thing, to draw the sting from it. Watchfully though he guards his political burg, he will, from time to time, carefully select some "promising" candidate from the Labor ticket, and allow him admission; or, may be, he is sometimes taken napping, and some Labor candidate slips through the fingers of his outposts at the ballot-box. Subjected to the lures and wiles at the disposal of the capitalist, these successful Labor candidates in the parliaments of capitalism, ten to one, succumb. They succumb due either to their own inherently corrupt souls, or to their muddle-headedness. In either case they betray the Working Class; the effect is harmfully felt by the economic Movement. Against this danger there is but one protection—the Industrial, that is, the class-conscious economic organization to keep that ballot straight. Nothing short of such an economic organization will prevent the evil, because nothing short of such an economic organization can keep sharp the edge of the special sword wielded by the political Movement of Labor. What that special sword is I have shown before. It is purely DESTRUCTIVE. The economic Movement may take a little at a time. It may do so because its function is ultimately to "take and hold" the full plants of production; and save them for the human race. The political Movement, on the contrary, has an entirely different function: its function is wholly to tear down the political Burg of capitalist tyranny. It follows herefrom that the political Movement of Labor may not even remotely partake even of the appearance of compromise. It exemplifies the revolutionary aim of the Labor Movement: it must be uncompromisingly revolutionary. This fact dictates the conduct of the successful political candidates of Labor in the parliaments of capitalism. The principle found expression in the celebrated maxim uttered by William Liebknecht, when he still was in the full vigor of his Socialist aspirations—"Parlamentiren ist paktieren," to parliamentarize is to compromise, to log-roll, to sell out. [Applause.] When,

in later years, experience brought home to him the unfortunate fact that the bourgeois of Germany had not finished their own revolution; when he discovered that that revolution had first to be completed, and that there was none to undertake the task but the Social Democratic Movement; when that hard reality faced him and his Movement, Liebknecht wisely adapted his course to the requirements. To parliamentarize is legitimate tactics with the bourgeois revolution. The parliamentarizing that the German Social Democracy thereupon, with Liebknecht at its head, has been constrained to practice, demonstrates that the Movement in Germany has been constrained to adopt the tactics of the bourgeois revolutionist;—precisely the reason why such tactics are wholly out of place, wholly inadmissible, aye, a badge of treason to the Working Class when applied in America. [Applause.] Without the MIGHT of the class-conscious economic back of the political Movement, the political Movements that the Labor Movement inevitably promotes in America will not only be divided but, as a further result, will promote that confusion of thought that runs into corruption and that, reacting back upon the economic Movement, itself, help to scuttle its efficiency. It surely is no accident that, without exception, all the Labor candidates, so far allowed by the Capitalist Class to filter through their garrisons at their election defiles, whenever the office to which they were allowed to be returned elected was of any importance, have uniformly "parliamentarized," that is, "log-rolled," in short, sold out the Revolution. We saw it happen during the heyday of the K. of L.; we saw it happen more recently in Haverhill, in Brockton, in the Massachusetts Legislature, in Paterson, in Sheboygan; we see it happening now in Milwaukee. It is a matter of self-protection with the economic organization to watch and control the political. Skillless as unpracticed infancy, a danger to Labor itself, is the sword of Labor's ballot without the Might of the class-conscious economic organization to whet its edge, to keep it sharp, and to insist upon its being plied over the skull of the foe, to insist upon that at the peril of the muddle-heads, of the weakling, of the traitor. [Applause.]

THE FUNCTION OF UNIONISM.

There now only remains one point to consider, and I am through. It is the point with regard to the necessity of the Industrial organization in order to supplement the Right of the ballot with the Might requisite to put the quietus upon the Capitalist Class itself. The point implies what is generally, but wrongly, meant by

THE GENERAL STRIKE,

a term, that, through misuse by its own advocates, who have hitherto placed the cart before the horse, is greatly misunderstood, and should be substituted by the more appropriate term of THE GENERAL LOCK-OUT OF THE CAPITALIST CLASS.

Political power is reached through the ballot-box. But the ballot-box is not an open field; it is a veritable defile. That defile is held by the agents of the Capitalist Class. The election inspectors and returning boards are capitalist appointees; they are veritable garrisons with which the Capitalist Class holds the defile. To imagine that these capitalist garrisons of the election defiles will complacently allow the candidates of the Revolution, whose program is the dismantling of the political burg of capitalism, peacefully to file through, is to indulge in a mooncalf's vision. The revolutionary ballot of Labor is counted out now; it has been counted out from the first day of its appearance; it will be counted out even more extensively in the future. This fact is taken by some as a sufficient ground from which to conclude that the political Movement is utterly useless. Those who arrive at that conclusion fall into the error of failing to realize that correct conclusions never flow from single premises. They can be arrived at only by considering all the premises in the case. While the Socialist ballot was, and may continue to be counted out, the political Movement accomplishes that which all the counting out will not be able to counteract. A man may monkey with the thermometer, yet he is utterly unable to monkey with the temperature. Place a lump of ice to the bulb of the quicksilver in this room of suffocating heat, the column will sink below zero, yet the temperature remains at fever heat. Place a piece of burning coal to the quicksilver bulb in midwinter, the mercury will rise to fever-heat, yet the

temperature remains cold, unaltered. So with the election returns. They are the political thermometer. [Applause.] The political pickets of the Capitalist Class may monkey therewith to their heart's content—they will be unable to alter by the fraction of a degree the political temperature that prevails all around. Now, then, that political temperature, for reasons that I have already explained, IS PRE-EMINENTLY THE PRODUCT OF THE POLITICAL MOVEMENT OF LABOR. [Long applause.] Wait, I have not yet proven the point. It still remains to be clinched. The question may still be asked, aye, it is asked, What does the hottest of political temperatures avail, if the Capitalist Class retains the power to nullify it by counting us out? It may avail much; here, in America, it may mean the consummation of that ideal so dearly pursued by the Socialist—THE PEACEFUL SOLUTION OF THE SOCIAL QUESTION. Look across at Europe. The feudal spirit still prevails there in an important respect, as a consequence of the continued prevalence there of large chunks of feudal institutions. In Europe, even the Capitalist Class is feudalized, let alone the surviving feudal heads. Though guilty of all the crimes of the decalogue, there is one vice that the feudal lord is substantially free from. That vice is COWARDICE. Valor is the burthen of the songs that rock their cradle; valor is the theme of the nursery tales to which they are raised; deeds of valor are the ideals set up before them. Take as a type the semi-crazy, semi-crippled Emperor of Germany. He will fight whatever the odds. In Europe a peaceful solution of the Social Question is out of all question. But how is the lay of the land here, in America? Was it songs of valor that rocked the cradles of our capitalist rulers? Was it tales of noble daring that formed the themes of the nursery tales to which they were brought up? Were the ideals that they gathered from their home surroundings the ideals of manliness? In short, did they reach their present position by deeds of valor? No! Daily experience, confirmed by every investigation that one set of capitalists institutes against another, tells us that they reached their present status of rulers by putting sand into your sugar, by watering their stocks, by putting shoddy into your clothes, by pouring water into your molasses, by breaches of trust, by fraudulent failures and fraudulent fires, in short by SWINDLE. [Applause.] Now, then, the swindler is a coward. Like a coward, he will play the bully, as we see the Capitalist Class doing, towards the weak, the weak because disorganized, Working Class. Before the strong, the bully crawls. Let the political temperature rise to the point of danger, then, all monkeying with the thermometer notwithstanding, your capitalist will quake in his stolen boots; he will not dare to fight; he will flee. [Applause.] At least I, for one, expect to see him flee. But, indeed, he will not unless, back of that ballot that has raised the political temperature to fever-heat, is the Might of the Industrial organization, in full possession of the industrial establishments of the land, organized integrally, and, consequently, CAPABLE OF ASSUMING THE CONDUCT OF THE NATION'S PRODUCTION. The complete Industrial organization of the Working Class will then have insured the peaceful issue of the struggle. But perhaps the capitalist may not flee. Perhaps, in a delirium of rage, he may resist. So much the worse—for him. The Might, implied in the Industrial organization of the Working Class of the land, will be in position to mop the earth with the rebellious usurper in short order [loud applause] and safeguard the Right that the ballot proclaimed.

The futility of the ballot alone, however triumphant, was strikingly illustrated nine years ago during the first Bryan campaign. The political temperature against the plutocratic rulers of the land had risen to a point that they, for a moment, considered the battle at the ballot-box lost in advance. That, however, did not disconcert them. Through their national mouth-piece, Mark Hanna, they threatened to stop production. In other words, they threatened to go on strike. [Laughter.] The threat was no idle bombast. They could. It was known that they could. Craft Unionism placed it in their power to do so. The threat had its effect. But let the capitalist attempt, under the pressure of the political temperature raised by the ballot of Labor,—let him attempt to strike. In possession of the Might conferred and implied by the Industrial organization of their class, the Working Class would forthwith LOCK OUT THE CAPITALIST CLASS. [Loud applause.] Without political organization, the Labor Move-

ment can not triumph; without economic organization, the day of its political triumph would be the day of its defeat. Industrialism means Might. Craft Unionism means impotence. All the plants of production, aye, even the vast wealth for consumption, is to-day in the keeping of the Working Class. It is workmen who are in charge of the factories, the railroads, the mines, in short all the land and machinery of production, and it is they also who sit as watchdogs before the pantries, the cellars and the safe deposit vaults of the capitalist class; aye, it is they who carry the guns in the armies. But this place of vantage is of no avail to them under craft Unionism. Under craft Unionism, only one craft marches into the battlefield at a time. By their idly looking on, the other crafts scab it upon the combatant. What with that and the likewise idle on-looking of those divisions of the workers who man the commissary department, so to speak, of the Capitalist Class, the class struggle presents, under craft Unionism, the aspect of petty riots at which the empty stomachs and empty hands of the Working Class are pitted against the full ones of the employing class. Was this ignorance? Was this treason? Whether treason or ignorance, the turning in the long lane has been reached. Both the present conduct of craft Unionism and the future conduct of industrial Unionism was well portrayed by one of the delegates at the Chicago convention. Illustrating the point with the five fingers of his right hand far apart, he showed that to be the posture of the craft autonomous Unions—disconnected from one another for all practical work, and good only to act as a fan, a fan that had hitherto done nothing but scare the flies away from the face of the Capitalist Class [laughter]; and, proceeding thereupon to illustrate the further point by drawing his five fingers tightly into a compact fist, he showed that to be the posture of industrial Unionism—a battering ram, that would leave the face of the Capitalist Class looking materially different from the way it looked when it was merely fanned. [Loud applause.] The impotence wherewith the Right of the Working Class has hitherto been smitten, is now to be organized into a Might without which that Right is but mockery. The signal for that organization was struck last week at the Convention of the Industrial Workers of the World; and the word has gone out, as it could go out from no other country but America, in language that fits our full-grown capitalist development—

"Unite! Unite on the economic field upon the only basis that economic unity is possible—the basis of the solidarity of the Working Class, the only solid fact from which political unity can be reflected! Unite! Unite upon the only economic principle capable of backing up the Right of the Labor ballot with the Might to enforce it! Unite for the General Strike at the ballot-box, to overthrow the political Robber-Burg of capitalism, backed by the General Strike, against, or, rather, the General Lock-out of the Capitalist Class from the industrial fields that it has usurped. Unite for the emancipation of the Working Class, and to save Civilization from a catastrophe!" [Loud applause.]

QUESTIONS.

No. 1.

Q.—Do you not believe that the Capitalist Class will seek to prevent the growth of the Industrial Workers of the World by demanding from each employee a sworn affidavit that he is not a member of that organization?

A.—They may try that, but it will fail of its purpose. I showed you that the "contract" which I was made to sign by a pistol being held to my head was null. It was null because it was not I but the pistol that signed the contract. Likewise with such affidavits. They would not be sworn to by the workman, but by the whip of hunger held over his head. The whip took the oath, let the whip keep it. [Laughter and applause.]

No. 2.

Q.—If I were to join that new Union, I would immediately be thrown out of work by the officers of my organization. What is a man to do?

A.—Look across to Russia. Individual uprisings are speedily crushed. The individual's safety lies in mass uprisings. The tyranny of the Grand Dukes of the A. F. of L. and such kindred craft organizations can be overcome only by mass uprisings against them. Such a tidal wave of rebellion against the Labor Lieutenants of the Capitalist Class is now shaping, soon to burst over their heads. [Applause.]

THE END.

Of Interest to Labor

OVERTIME WORK—INTENSIFYING TOIL, HOW IT IS DONE—INDUSTRIAL TROUBLES IN JAPAN.

OVERTIME WORK.

"System"—the business magazine—for September, contains a discussion on the question "Does It Pay to Run a Factory Overtime?" The discussion is participated in by seven superintendents, managers and presidents of large corporations and manufacturing concerns. Their unanimous opinion, with one exception, is that it does not pay. The reasons for this opinion are interesting to workmen. They find the strain on the men "is too heavy—the product deteriorates, the workmen degenerate." E. A. Benson, mechanical superintendent of the Pullman Company, is especially outspoken. Says he:

"It does not pay to work a manufacturing plant overtime for even fifteen minutes. Our men work on the piece system. They are under a great strain and work right up to the limit every hour. They work nine hours a day and need all the time between this and the next day for recuperation."

Wm. W. Widdicombe, president of a furniture company bearing his name at Grand Rapids, Mich., says:

"Good workmen will do their duty, as an average, faithfully for ten hours a day; beyond that time I believe their strength, both mental and physical, has been too much exhausted to produce that high quality of output which we require."

This discussion accentuates one important fact, viz., the modern shorter work day is an intensified work day, more exhausting to the working class than the twelve and thirteen hour days

of a century ago.

INTENSIFYING LABOR ONE-FIFTH. Regarding the discussion of the intensification of labor, this anecdote from "System" for September, will show how it is done:

"One day a department head in the great International Cash Register Factory of Dayton, Ohio, came into the office of John H. Patterson, the president, with a gleeful expression on his face. He thought he had good news, and he proposed to make a good hit by being the first to impart it to the old man."

"Mr. Patterson," he said, "let me congratulate you. You can now call yourself the head of one of the greatest industries in the country. We have to-day put the five-thousandth employe on the pay-roll."

"Mr. Patterson swung sharply around in his office chair; he always does the unexpected thing—but it is usually the right thing, too."

"Five thousand employes!" he exclaimed, "and you congratulate me on that, on the fact that we are increasing our expense all the time? Come and congratulate me when our sales amount up to five thousand a month. Five thousand employes! That is one thousand too many. We have got to cut down our working force to four thousand men."

"And they say the heads began to fall that morning." The "philanthropic" president gives the order converting his department heads into slave drivers and taskmasters, and intensified labor immediately becomes rife. Capital must reap profits at labor's expense.

INDUSTRIAL TROUBLES IN JAPAN.

The rapid pace at which Japan is developing the modern class struggle between capital and labor, is well reflected in the following from the Tokio "Socialist":

"There has been a serious disturbance among the operatives of the well known concern, the Osaka Alkali Company. It seems that ever since the company was established in April, 1879 (with a capital of a million yen) the business has shown satisfactory progress, the dividend for the half-year just closed being at the rate of 12 per cent. per annum. The operatives complained that while the shareholders were receiving this very satisfactory dividend the wage sheet remained as before, the rates varying from 35 sen to Y. 1.04 (foreman's wages) per head per day. Recently the operatives demanded an advance in their pay on the ground of the increased cost of living consequent upon the higher prices of daily necessities. The company decided to increase the wages by 5 sen per day to all receiving under 50 sen, but this did not satisfy the operatives, who insisted that somebody was misleading the Board of Directors as to the real condition of affairs."

"One of the foremen was assaulted by a number of the operatives about a week ago, but it was found that the assault was the result of some 'misunderstanding,' and the matter was amicably settled."

"Subsequently nine foremen made joint application for a further increase of wages and the company agreed to make a general advance of 5 sen per head per day. This, however, did not meet with the approval of the operatives, and they vented their displeasure upon the engineers and assistants. On the 23rd ult. Mr. Sugihara, an assistant engineer, was attacked while on duty, and the ringleaders of the assault were arrested."

TO CRUSH THE I. W. W.

CLEVELAND MANUFACTURERS COMBINE FOR THE PURPOSE—A STATEMENT BY THE G. E. B.

To the Unions and the General Membership of the Industrial Workers of the World:—

In this period of unrest among the wage-earners of this country, when thousands and scores of thousands are looking to a plan of action and fighting methods in line with the requirements of this age, it was to be expected that the capitalist class, alarmed at the growing interest the wage-workers were taking in the principles expounded by the Industrial Workers of the World, would, at the first opportunity, attempt to strike a blow at the organization while still in its infancy.

This opportunity presented itself when the Stogie Makers of Cleveland, Ohio, organized the industry under the Industrial Workers of the World. The employees in that industry had been denied the right to organize themselves by the

ed. The other operatives were enraged at these arrests, and demanded the release of their confreres. Two of the men who had been arrested were subsequently liberated; but the general attitude of the employees became still more threatening. Matters reached a climax on the morning of the 25th, when 120 of the operatives were summarily dismissed, and it was decided to close the factory for an indefinite period.

"The trouble has created a great deal of interest in Osaka, and in view of the menacing attitude of workmen in that industrial city, as recently exemplified by the attack on a foreign employe of the Gas Works, the outcome will be watched with close attention."

aristocratic International Union of Cigar Makers and, as the message of Industrial Unionism appealed to them so strongly they organized themselves immediately after the close of the Convention. It is well to state that the men and women of that industry were not ignorant of the aims and fighting methods of labor organizations; they had gone through two struggles before, when organized in a union which had to be independent, for reasons given above.

Immediately upon learning of the organization of the employees being perfected, the manufacturers organized. Their first move was to engage, what they termed, apprentices. The members of the union counteracted this move by taking in the apprentices, most of whom were over twenty and thirty years of age. The manufacturers continued engaging and breaking in more apprentices, until they thought they had enough to begin war against their older employees, by establishing a blacklist. Employees quitting their jobs, or discharged, could not get employment in another establishment. Finally, the union was forced to take action. Upon presenting the case to the General Executive Board of the Industrial Workers of the World, by an authorized delegate of the union, advice was given to ask for an adjustment. Failure upon the part of the manufacturer to arrive at an understanding, satisfactory to all concerned, was sufficient reason for more drastic measures; quick action was deemed essential for any eventual success. The manufacturer refused to negotiate. The members were forced to either strike when the employers were the least prepared or

allow their organization to be destroyed piece-meal; they chose the former.

The General Executive Board of the Industrial Workers of the World, knowing that the wealth-producers are always right in their struggles against the exploiters, realized that immediate and adequate support must, by all means, be given to these members of our class, driven into one of the most justified strikes. It was, therefore, decided to issue a strong appeal to all members of the union and the strong army of sympathizers with the Industrial Workers of the World.

Fellow workers:—This fight can be won, if you show your struggling comrades that you are with them in spirit and in action. The sinews of war must be supplied! Contribute your share! Take up the matter immediately! Don't delay action on this appeal! The membership of the Industrial Workers of the World should demonstrate to the world of Labor that they are imbued with a noble spirit of solidarity. NOW IS THE TIME TO ACT!

Send all contributions to David Hochwald, No. 200 Scoville avenue, Cleveland, Ohio, and notify General Headquarters of your donation.

CHARLES O. SHERMAN,
General President.
W. E. TRAUTMANN,
Gen'l Sec'y-Treas.

(General Headquarters) No. 148 W. Madison street, Chicago, Sept. 29.

ATTENTION, ST. LOUIS, MO.

Section St. Louis, S. L. P., has moved from its old headquarters, 307½ Pine street, and will hereafter meet at Smiths Hall, 21st and Franklin avenue, 3rd floor, every second and fourth Friday evening of each month.

We call upon all readers of this paper to attend.

Section St. Louis, S. L. P.

FATIGUE AND ACCIDENTS

French Researches Show Grim Connection Between Them.

The influence of fatigue on workmen and the part it plays in relation to accidents have lately formed the subject of an exhaustive inquiry on the part of M. Imbert, professor at the Montpellier Faculty of Medicine, and M. Mestre, a factory inspector in the Department of the Hérault, France. From their united investigations very clear and important indications have been obtained relating to the physiological conditions during the hours of labor. These observations have shown that the number of accidents increases progressively hour by hour during the first half day; that after the rest at midday the number of accidents is notably less than in the last hour of the forenoon; that in the course of the second half day accidents again become more numerous, and that the maximum number of accidents toward the end of the second half day is notably higher than the corresponding maximum in the morning.

The influence of the workmen's fatigue on the production of accidents stands out clearly from these observations, and it is easy to understand how this comes about when it is remembered that with fatigue the attention rapidly diminishes and disappears. The conclusion, therefore, is that in order to produce a diminution in the number of accidents it would be sufficient to intercalate in the middle of each half day of work a period of repose, naturally not so long as that at mid-day, but the length of which remains to be determined. In fact, one would only have to apply to the manual labor of adults the measures which for a long time have been put into practice for children as regards their intellectual labor.

SOCIAL PROPHECIES

Prophecy is not among the gifts of the partisan and conservative. Requiring the intuition and imagination born of a comprehensive grasp of facts, and the conclusions to which they inevitably tend, prophecy is the hall mark of the genius and revolutionist. Fifty years ago Karl Marx, after a long critical analysis of capitalist production, prophesied the advent of the trust. The petty bourgeois apologists, alias economists, guffawed in derision at this prophecy. To-day, amid the economic destruction wrought by the trust, they laugh on the other side of their face. They now perceive too plainly what their narrow interests and intellects would not permit them to see before. The true prophet is vindicated once more.

But all who pose as prophets are not so fortunate. Lacking the true essentials of the real kind, they are often ridiculous. Especially is this the case with many of those making prophecies relating to immigration. A recital of the awful dangers with which the nation is threatened by "the unassimilated hordes of Europe", would make even the hair in the wig of a John D. Rockefeller stand on end. It makes cold shivers run up and down the spinal column to recall the horrible national disasters, due to immigration, that failed to happen.

Especially were "our" political institutions endangered. On them was focused the attack of all the infamies originating in and sustained by "the offscourings and scum of the Old World." To sum up all these infamies, nothing will prove so helpful as a paragraph from page 48 of the Rev. Josiah Strong's "Our Country", published by the American Home Missionary Society in 1885. First let it be explained that, in this book, the Rev. Josiah Strong predicts a social crisis, which will prove critical, not only to America, but the whole world, unless the capitalists of this country recognize that they are but stewards of God, holding the wealth of the nation in trust for the people, under the divine auspices of the Protestant Church, of which the Rev. Josiah Strong is a zealous and humble member. Immigration is one of the contributing causes of this crisis. Having thus explained the book, let us now quote the paragraph. It is as follows:

"2. We can only glance at the political aspects of immigration. As we have already seen, it is immigration which has fed fat the liquor vote; and there is a liquor vote. Immigration furnishes most of the victims of Mormonism; and there is a Mormon vote. Immigration is the strength of the Catholic Church; and there is a Catholic vote. Immigration is the mother and nurse of American Socialism; and there is to be a Socialist vote. Immigration tends strongly to the cities, and gives to them their political complexion. And there is no more serious aspect to our civilization than our rabble-ruled cities."

As will be seen, in 1885, "our" Republican institutions were seriously endangered by immigration, with its detrimental "votes." Yet what happened in the critical periods that followed 1885? What happened in 1896, 1900, 1904, when free silver endangered the institutions for which the Rev. Strong was so solicitous? Did these various bad "votes" assert themselves as predicted? What happened was this: All the States notoriously foreign in population voted the gold standard and "saved the nation"; while those famous as the home of "the native American element" voted "for the overthrow of 'our' national honor and government." The Swedes of Minnesota, the Germans of Wisconsin, the Slavs of Pennsylvania, and the Irish of Massachusetts forgot their various votes and rolled up the "safe and sane" Republican majorities; while the blue-blooded untainted Americans of the South and Northwest contributed the bulk of the "heretical and anarchistic" Democratic popular vote. As for our "rabble ruled cities," that phrase will make the Belmont-Pennsylvania R. R.-Metropolitan-Street-Railway-Tammany-Hall combination that rules Greater New York, the most foreign populated city in the world, smile the smile that won't come off. The chill arising from the fear of disaster that first accompanied the Rev. Prophet's "prophecies," is now a shake from laughter! The trouble with such "prophecies" is, that they do not understand what an American is; consequently, they make "prophecies" which, were that understanding present, would not be made at all. An American is hard to define. Some say the Indian is the only true American. But the Indian is extinct, and dead Indians not only tell no tales, but they have also ceased to be ethnological factors. The Indian's place is taken by a new man. This new man has been well defined in "Letters From An American Farmer", written by J.

Hector St. John De Crevecoeur, and published in this country in 1782. Says this early American agriculturist:

"What, then, is the American, this new man? He is an European or the descendant of an European, hence that strange mixture of blood, which you will find in no other country. * * * Here individuals of all nations are melted into a new race of men, whose labors and posterity will one day cause great changes in the world. Americans are the western pilgrims who are carrying along with them that great mass of arts, sciences, vigor and industry which began long since in the East; they will finish the great circle. * * * The American is a new man, who acts upon new principles; he must therefore entertain new ideas and form new opinions."

Here is the definition of a genius and a true prophet.

As thus described the American is not merely a Puritanical Anglo-Saxon, but an international of the internationals: an amalgamation and continuation of the European of all races, with whom he clasps hands in fraternal greeting. The American is more: he is a varied transformation, receiving his stimuli, his renaissance, as it were, from his new surroundings and the new systems which they greatly aid to evolve. This system is predicated upon the private ownership of the means of production and distribution, unrestrained by feudal conditions, known as Capitalism.

In the gold states Capital is dominant and aggressive. All its interests compel the conversion of the immigrants to its standards. Education, bribery, property, combined with the immigrant's changed view-point, are the means to this end. In the silver states, especially those of the South, agriculture of a retrogressive type, dashed with peonage, pro-slavery sentiments and small production, prevailed, thus binding the older American settlements to the chariot of Reaction. But the South is becoming more industrial, i. e., capitalistic, so that even the states composing it are fast abandoning old traditions, and conditions for the new—are progressing toward the ideals upheld by the immigrant, now fused into an American.

The ideals are progressing, too. Capitalism is evolving into Socialism, and the nation is accompanying it. American Socialism is gauged not so much by votes as by the character of the social phenomena which American industrial evolution creates. The presence of a few ultra-financiers who dominate American industry, on one side, and the Chicago Industrial Union convention, on the other side, of the social chasm, are surer indications of the spread of Socialism than are a half-million reformist votes, because they are more genuinely revolutionary in character and typical of their course.

Had the Rev. Josiah Strong grasped the true character of the American, and the system which is transforming and pushing him on, he would have refrained from uttering his dismal immigration "prophecies." He would also decline to rely upon his church to save the nation and the world from a threatening social cataclysm. Like Marx, the true prophet, he would have discovered the economic laws which create social phenomena, especially the class war, and striven to wipe them out, through an intelligent recognition and direction of their operation and evolution. These demand and lead to the overthrow of international Capitalism, with its racial barriers and class systems; and the inauguration of Socialism, with its world citizenship and fraternal co-operation, for which the American is ethnologically and economically destined. J. E.

GENERAL AGITATION FUND.

During the week ending with Saturday, September 30, the following contributions were received to the above fund:

Frank Wilson, Decatur, Wash.	\$ 1.00
Nels Person, Decatur, Wash.	1.00
Section Vancouver, B. C., per F. Bohn	21.00
J. J. Murphy, New London, Conn.	1.00
F. Thor, Green Acres, Wash.	1.00
John R. Larson, Winthrop, Mass.	70
F. D. Tebbetts, Dover, N. H.	50
Thos. Welding, Butler, Pa.	60
Nicol Gerold, Jersey City, N. J.	1.00
W. Sauter, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1.00
Section Kalamazoo, Mich., collection	3.65
B. H. Williams, commission of People subs., June-Aug.	3.76
B. H. Williams, commission on literature, July-Aug.	8.05
Thos. Barnett, Seattle, Wash.	5.00
Wm. Carnegie, Vancouver, B. C.	23
"Hallroom", Brooklyn, N. Y.	50
Total	\$50.29
Previously acknowledged	\$1,552.45
Grand total	\$1,602.74

Henry Kuhn, National Secretary.

SILVER CITY AROUSED

JOS. P. CAMPBELL, S. L. P. ORGANIZER, ASSERTS RIGHT OF FREE SPEECH AND ASSEMBLAGE.

Is Thereupon Arrested and Taken to the Police Station Followed by Sympathizing Crowds—Trial Set for to-day and Preparations Made for a Good, Stiff Legal Fight On the Merits of the Case.

Hartford, Conn., Oct. 1.—Meriden, the Silver City, is now discussing Socialism and the Socialist Labor Party as it never did before. It all came about this way: I arrived in the city of Meriden on the morning of Wednesday, September 29, and proceeded to make arrangements for the holding of a series of meetings on the Public Square.

On Wednesday evening conditions were not favorable for an open air meeting, so I decided to hold off until Thursday evening, and then to hold three meetings in succession and so give the Silver City and its thirty-five thousand population such a shaking up as to give the wage slaves of the silver shops something to think over. I therefore, on Thursday afternoon, walked over to police headquarters and notified the chief (Van Nostrand) that I wanted him to detail a man or two to maintain order at my meetings. He asked me what kind of meeting I intended holding, and I told him that I was going to speak on the Socialist Labor Party and the Industrial Workers of the World. The chief then asked me if I had seen the mayor; whereupon I replied that I did not see what the mayor had to do with it. He then said: "You'll have to get the mayor's permission to speak; if you don't I'll stop you from holding a meeting." I then told the police to attend to this end, and that I would attend to my own end of it, in spite of all the mayors in Connecticut.

I then communicated with the State Executive Committee and received this reply: "Hartford, Conn., Sept. 28, 1905. "Comrade Campbell: "Yours of to-day at hand and in reply will say that you need no permit to speak from any mayor in the state of Connecticut, and if the chief of police in Meriden will arrest you if you attempt to speak, let him do so and we shall fight the issue with him. "Fraternally, "Conn. State Executive Committee, S. L. P. "Fred Fellerman, Secretary. "P. S. Report at once whatever may happen."

"F. F." I had all arrangements made early in the day, and before eight o'clock that night there were over 400 people gathered on the Public Square. I planted a large packing case in the street and began to speak and the people came flocking from all directions. By the time that I had made the announcement of the object of the meeting, nearly a thousand people thronged the square. Just as I was beginning to pay my respects to John Mitchell, the local police force hove into view. They drew up in back of me, the chief and all his understrappers. Police Captain Bowen then touched me upon the arm and said: "You'll have to stop speaking." I asked "Why?" The captain then stepped to the rear and held a consultation with the other officials. Meanwhile, I turned to the crowd and told them to have no fear of their constitutional rights being trampled upon, and when I announced that "The Socialist Labor Party will fight this battle for the right of free speech and free assemblage to the end," the crowd gave a mighty cheer.

The captain, at this point, stepped up and, laying his hand upon my arm, said: "You're my prisoner." I was then taken from the box and marched to the police station between the captain and lieutenant McGovern, while Chief Van Nostrand and a body guard of four men brought up the rear. It was the most exciting time that I have ever witnessed, the crowd in the streets was so dense that the cars could not get through. The crowd that had collected around the police station must have numbered several thousand, and most important of all they were open in their sympathy with the Socialist Labor Party and they let it be known by their remarks along the line of March. I telegraphed to the State Executive Committee, but due to the fact that there is a very poor train service between the cities here, none of the comrades could get to Meriden before morning, and I was compelled to remain in a 4x6 compartment with an iron door, that looked very much like an enlarged bird cage until the following morning.

A local paper tells the rest of the story thusly: In a case to test the "right of free speech and assemblage," in the State of Connecticut, Joseph P. Campbell, of

I. W. W. ACTIVITY

GENERAL OFFICERS ISSUE NINE CHARTERS AND REPORT INCREASE IN MEMBERSHIP.

Blacksmiths, Cigarmakers, Janitor and Building Employees, Knitting Workers, Range Riders, Shoe Workers, and Textile Operators, Join the Growing Industrial Union Army—Other Matters of Interest.

[Special Correspondence.]

Chicago, Sept. 30.—The following local unions were granted charters by the I. W. W. for the week ending September 29:

Blacksmiths, Pullman, Ill., charter members, 25; Cigarmakers, Chicago, Ill., charter members, 22; Janitor and Building Employees, Chicago, Ill., charter members, 40; Knitting Workers, Chicago, Ill., charter members, 22; Mixed Local, Seattle, Wash., charter members, 60; Mixed Local, Tacoma, Wash., charter members, 40; Range Riders, Denver, Colo.; Shoe Workers, Chicago, Ill.; Textile Workers, Lowell, Mass.

The knitting workers were formerly a large A. F. of L. organization and had a long strike, while members of that body. While on strike they received the usual A. F. of L. support, to wit, plenty of oratory, promises and other forms of "hot air," until the organization was disrupted. The few progressive members called a meeting and after hearing the I. W. W. plan of organization, they decided to organize. Nineteen men and three women signed application blanks and the charter was the result. The outlook for them is very good.

A meeting of shoe workers brought out a large crowd. Trautmann was the speaker. A few Tobinists were there, but were fairly slaughtered by the speaker. He showed up the capitalistic tactics of the Tobin union in such good style that thirty men signed applications for charter. While thirty charter members may seem to be a small number to organize with, the fact gains greater significance when it becomes known that every large factory had some department represented in the 30 names. The Tobin union had a very disastrous strike last summer and lost it. This fact, coupled with the intense activity of the I. W. W. in this, as in all other industries, can only result in a steady increase of membership.

The A. F. of L. is fully awakened to the danger confronting that body and has sent organizers of all kinds to Chicago to try and counteract the work of the I. W. W. The first hard clash came at a meeting held by the International Machinists. This meeting was called by them in an attempt to win back the metal workers to the A. F. of L. Business agent Kepler, of the I. W. W., and four other officers, were in the hall. A few words regarding Kepler would not be amiss. The organization he represents is radical to a certain extent.

Philadelphia, a representative of the Socialist Labor Party and the Industrial Workers of the World, who was arrested last night while addressing a crowd on Crown street square, was arraigned before Judge Fay in the police court this morning. The case was adjourned until Tuesday morning for the beginning of a bitter fight in the courts, it is said, and Campbell was released in bonds of \$50 furnished by the Socialist Labor Party through the assistant secretary, Jacob Brauer, acting for Fred Fellerman, secretary of the party's Connecticut executive committee with headquarters in Hartford.

The defense retained Attorney C. J. Danaher this morning and the matter of engaging Attorney Joseph L. Barbour, of Hartford, to come here and act with Mr. Danaher is now under consideration and will be decided at a meeting of the committee before the day of the trial. "It's a fight for principle and this will be made a test case to definitely decide the question of free speech and assemblage for this state. In other states the matter has been threshed out in the courts and in every instance favorably to our cause," Mr. Brauer said.

The accused pleaded not guilty to charges of breach of the peace and violating a city by-law in regard to the obstruction of city streets and sidewalks. The plea was entered to the second count with the privilege of pleading a demurrer to it on constitutional grounds. "I want to say at this time, your honor," Mr. Danaher said, "that no attempt was made by this young man to defy the law; the idea was simply to raise the constitutionality of the matter."

City Attorney Hinman disagreed. He said that Campbell most certainly did defy the authorities. Judge Fay thought it best to delay arguments on the question until the trial. Details of the trial will be sent. J. P. C.

and he holds his position because he professes to be a Socialist) Kepler and his associates had their followers around the hall awaiting the signal for action. Trautmann spoke in his impressive way, showing the conflict between the capitalist and working classes, and was showing the difference between the old and new forms of unionism, when he was interrupted by Kepler, Kepler, stung by the speaker's remarks, leaped to his feet and said: "Brothers, did you come here to hear a Socialist agitator, or did you come here to hear a speech on trade unionism? All those opposed to Socialism will walk out with me." This was the signal for trouble, but it failed to work. As Kepler went out only eight of his cohorts followed him, and they all slunk back in a few minutes when they saw their attempt to stampede the meeting had failed. The incident did not close there. A delegate to the I. M. district council brought up the matter and Kepler again posed as a Socialist. He claimed to have issued a challenge to the I. W. W. but that no officer would accept. The fact is that Trautmann challenged any officer of the I. M. to meet him in debate. Now the rank and file of the I. M. insist that the challenge be accepted and a lively time is in sight.

The A. F. of L. cap makers requested a speaker be sent to them. It was learned that they were on the verge of a strike, and it was deemed inadvisable to send one to them at present.

Frank Bohn organized a Mixed Local at Seattle and one at Tacoma, Wash., and there are good prospects of these locals branching out in a short time.

Los Angeles, Cal., Mixed Local, is increasing its membership very rapidly. This local was formerly a part of the S. T. and L. A. and has increased from seven to thirty-six and expects to organize new industries in the near future.

San Francisco sends in good report. This local also was part of S. T. and L. A.

Moyer and Haywood organized the Range Riders (cow boys and broncho busters), with headquarters in Denver, Cal. Literature will reach all ranches and farms throughout Colorado and Wyoming, through their efforts.

W. W. Cox organized a mixed local in Springfield, Ill., and reports he has a local in sight for the mining department. Philip Veal organized the Textile Workers of Lowell, Mass., and plans have been made for a general distribution of I. W. W. literature.

The blacksmiths employed at the Pullman Car Co. have started the ball rolling there by organizing with twenty-five charter members.

The Cigar Makers of Chicago applied for a charter which was issued to them. They are part of the great number in the trade that are denied admittance to the Cigar Makers' International Union, owing to the fact that their way of working is more advanced than the old way. They are sure to grow rapidly on account of the peculiar conditions they are confronted with. These are outlined in the call for financial aid, issued by the G. E. B. on behalf of the Cleveland stogie makers' strike, which has already been forwarded.

Sixteen men at Burnside, Ill., signed a call for a mass meeting to be held for employees of the car shop there to organize. They are busy distributing literature and indications point to success.

The garment workers report a steady increase in membership.

Pioneer Local Machinists of Chicago hold educational meetings every Friday evening at 153 E. Randolph street. The attendance is good.

The Janitors and Building Employees were organized by Trautmann and Lingensfelder. It is hard for them to attend meetings as they are working at all hours and when they do go to a meeting they are compelled to sneak time on the boss. However, they surmount the difficulty by the distribution of literature and buttonhole discussion.

The I. W. W. is now very busy translating their literature into German, French, Jewish, and other languages for distribution. Rex.

GILLHAUS IN NEWARK, O.

Expounds I. W. W. Principles with the Aid of A Craft Union Strike.

Newark, O., Sept. 29.—August Gillhaus was here and held a very successful open air meeting. He explained the principles of industrial unionism, and showed how helpless and incompetent craft unionism is by taking up the action of the stove mounters and molders are working & Co., for an example, showing how they, all good union men, are scabbing it on the polishers, who are out for seventeen weeks and so far, have not gained a tooth pick. About nine hundred stove mounter and molders are working and a hundred and seventy non-union polishers are working with them, guarded by fifty special policemen. Gillhaus said that that could not happen were the I. W. W. to conduct the strike. The I. W. W. makes "an injury to one is an injury to all."

Fifteen polishers are under arrest, charged with attempted murder. They will never win this strike, although they

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have been getting \$80 per week strike benefit so far. But the Metal Polishers' International Union has only \$15 in its treasury. A few molders discussed Gillhaus' speech, and they said that they ought to be organized on industrial lines. H. D.

Hartford, Sept. 27.—Local 100, I. W. W., reports the following excellent work done by its organizer, Jos. P. Campbell, in and around Hartford:

Four meetings were held at Park and Broad streets, presided over by James Williams and S. Stodell. Campbell took for his subject "The I. W. W. and S. L. P." At one of these meetings J. Leely also addressed the audience on the "L" strike in connection with the late accident.

Four meetings were held at Asylum and Trumbull streets, which Stodell opened and Campbell addressed. Leely also addressed one of these meetings. At these meetings the pure and simple Socialists, the labor fakirs and Trinity College students were thoroughly whipped, each in his turn.

One meeting was held at Albany avenue, near the Tunnel, at which the police tried to butt in, but were a little surprised about the way they were handled.

One meeting was also held at corner Main and Morgan streets.

All of these meetings were rousing successes.

Two meetings were held in Rockville, two in South Manchester, at which place an I. W. W. local was recently launched, and two meetings were held in New Britain, where a local of the I. W. W. has also been launched.

About two hundred books were sold at these meetings.

Campbell is now touring the State under the auspices of the Socialist Labor Party.

The members of the Capmakers' Union who organized the Capmakers' Local of the I. W. W., are now being persecuted by the walking delegates and executive officers of that organization. Charges were preferred against two of them, Bardichevsky and Scheffel. The former was forced out of his situation; the latter, at a meeting of the union held on September 28, was threatened with physical violence by Walking Delegate Hinder, who urged the members present to treat him in the same manner, if necessary. Scheffel and Bardichevsky were expelled from the union. Scheffel is also threatened with a loss of employment. Both Scheffel and Bardichevsky were called upon to withdraw from the I. W. W., but both declined to do so.

The Capmakers' Local of the I. W. W. has increased its membership since its inception. It expects a further increase as a result of the present attacks.

Optical Workers' Protective Union No. 11381, A. F. of L., went out of business as such on Sept. 28 at a meeting held at Schutzen Hall, 12 St. Mark's place.

The members voted to surrender their charter, disband as an A. F. of L. organization, and join the I. W. W.

After the action those present listened to an address on "Industrial Unionism" by Paul Augustine, an electrical worker, of Building Trades Local, Industrial Workers of the World, who has been Organizer of D. A. 49, S. T. and L. A., during its last term.

Hedley, B. C., Sept. 18.—Yesterday, as the miners in this camp did not work, I posted upon the door of the kitchen a

notice stating that I would lecture that afternoon at 2 p. m. on "Industrial Unionism and Socialism," so when 2 p. m. came I went to the place where the meeting was to be held, and found them busy making room for all to attend (as it was a small place). Almost all those who work in the mine here attended, and you could have heard a pin drop all the time I was talking.

You can plainly see the ever-rising revolutionary impulse in these mining places. When I was through speaking over twenty asked me to form a local of the I. W. W. But as I am not an organizer and have not the things to go ahead with, and was soon to leave for the north, I could not do so. But I secured some subscriptions to The Weekly People, and put them in touch with I. W. W. headquarters.

There was not one voice raised in sympathy or favor when I was presenting the indictments against the A. F. of L., and all were in accord with the new Union and the S. L. P.

I am sure that the miners are fast arriving to a consciousness of their class interest.

When I come down from the north in the spring I shall, if successful, expend all my energies along the lines of getting subscribers and helping along The Industrial Workers of the World.

William Bonstein.

That Paterson will prove an excellent field for the implanting of the principles of the I. W. W. is being demonstrated at every meeting of Industrial Workers' Union No. 152 of that city. Nine applications were received at the last two meetings and the secretary has 14 applications to be acted on. At the last meeting a committee representing 300 Italian silk workers were given the privilege of the floor. They stated that their organization wished to become affiliated with the I. W. W. From the spirit shown by the committee it is evident that, once organized in the I. W. W., this Italian body will prove strenuous workers for its principles.

The local has elected a by-law committee, and also a press committee to attend to the publication of the reports of meetings.

At the last meeting after a discussion, a committee of five was elected to arrange for a mass meeting of silk workers in Paterson.

The local will continue to meet every Monday evening and the initiation fee will be kept at 50 cents for an indefinite period so that all workers who desire joining may do so at slight expense.

A CALL TO THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

A meeting of the Press Committee of the N. E. C. Sub-Committee was held last night, and in view of the importance at this time of De Leon's address on Industrial Unionism, the committee recommended to the business management that a first issue of 100,000 copies of the Weekly People of October 7th be printed. The Press Committee considers that there should be a demand for at least that number. Sections and individual members should consider it a paramount duty to dispose of this excellent special issue of the Weekly People.

Press Committee.

New York, Oct. 2.

NOTICE TO NEW YORK SECTIONS. Sections of the Socialist Labor Party in New York State, who intend filing certificates of nomination by Petition for City, County or Town Officers, are herewith informed that the time for filing begins on October 3rd and ends October 18th.

J. Ebert,
Sec'y N. Y. S. E. C.

THE NORTHWEST

ITS REVOLUTIONARY WORKMEN AND MOVEMENT, BY FRANK BOHN, NATIONAL ORGANIZER SO CIALIST LABOR PARTY.

Others have been depended upon to report upon the state of the Movement in the Northwest. But everyone appears to be as busy as myself. On coming here I found it necessary to quicken my pace, in order that the column might not leave me in the rear.

The Portland Fair has been a dismal failure. I went out far a couple of afternoons and found the Exposition grounds to be as good a resting place as a suburban park on Monday morning. Instead of exhibits illustrative of industrial and scientific progress, there are literally hundreds of booths with the "For Sale" sign staring one in the face. And the thin crowds make those in charge a woe-begone set of petty bourgeois indeed. Country people are done out of their dimes and quarters in a shameful manner. As I walked along "The Trail" to the U. S. Government Building I heard some "Egyptian" dancing girls say to a man that they were Jewish factory operatives from the East Side of New York. But this is not what I set out to write—immense crowds of workmen came to Portland to find work this summer. Some of them found the chain-gang. But their places were quickly taken by sixty-three petty shopkeepers who went to the wall in Portland between May 1 and August 15. So interested persons at our street meetings were not lacking. At one meeting a hundred pamphlets were sold. I think that it was on the same evening that an emaciated member of the lower middle class came out and tried to break up the meeting by insisting that we were blocking up the entrance to his store. A policeman who was evidently interested in the matter under discussion gave chase and the fellow ran back into his den.

In Portland there are two old A. L. U. locals which are now in the I. W. W. The Industrial Union meeting which they arranged was well attended and suggested that a period of growth was at hand. At this meeting a member of the Oregon State Federation of Labor, a fakir very smooth in appearance but exceptionally ignorant, was a listener and when the discussion became general he even took the rostrum and argued that "If laborers are displaced by machines, they can go to work at making machines," forgetting entirely that the machines are machine-made. The statement caused such a loud and prolonged burst of laughter from the crowd that we took up very little time with the official representative of the labor union cemetery.

A year ago the Portland A. F. of L. carpenters had 1,100 members. Now they claim 300. But of these exactly seven were not to the local business meeting the week I was in Portland. The fact is, that in the whole Northwest, pure and simple, is not only rotten, but it is everywhere, but dead as well. At Seattle the Labor Day parade was participated in by about 1,500 men. Seattle has a population of 150,000, and offers a great opportunity for the development of the I. W. W. Our Industrial Union meeting there has been already touched upon in these columns. Fifty men remained to a short after conference, and we arranged for an organization meeting to take place the following Sunday. We organized with 62 charter members. This includes about fifteen enthusiastic young men from Local Seattle, S. P. I later discovered, to my great pleasure, that this element in urging the relentless logic of Industrial Unionism upon their backward and stumbling comrades, were meeting with success.

At Tacoma, our experience was almost identical with that at Seattle. One evening, at a street meeting, all wage workers interested in the I. W. W. were invited to come to a hall and look into the matter further. Thirty came and twenty-five expressed a desire to join. The Federal local we organized now contains about forty members, and holds weekly business and agitation meetings. It remained for Van Couver to outdo all other towns in the Northwest in the size of its Industrial Unionist mass meeting. Over 1,200 men were in attendance. Over fifty handed in their names as ready to join at once, while the interest at the meeting was such, that Van Couver Federal, I. W. W., ought to number hundreds immediately upon completing its organization. The greatest enemy of the working class movement, both economic and political, in Van Couver, is a fellow named Kingsley. When this now notorious character was fired out of Section Seattle, S. L. P., some years ago, for trying to disrupt it, he stole the Secretary-Treasurer's books, which were in his possession, and

refused to permit the auditing committee to have a peep at them. For a time he tried to organize a rival S. L. P. section and secure recognition from the N. E. C. Failing in this he, naturally enough, ran off to Canada and started his disrupting methods there, organizing a second party which has had exactly four names in four years. It is now called the "Socialist party of British Columbia" and the Kingsley branch of Van Couver claims jurisdiction over the whole Socialist movement of Canada. They would lay down a new system of economics and politics for the whole world. Kingsley is editor of a privately owned sheet called the "Western Clarion." In itself utterly contemptible, a purveyor of false economics and fusionist political tactics, and a boomer of capitalist ventures, its Labor Day issue being wholly devoted to booming Van Couver's corporations, it and its editor are worthy of this much space only because some twelve or fifteen wage workers are under their influence. These deluded but honest men not only "dig up" the necessary funds to get out some 600 copies of the sheet weekly, but they also pay for Kingsley's meal tickets, and otherwise support him in the bitter campaign he is waging against the I. W. W. Ever since the publication of the Chicago Manifesto the "Clarion" has wheezed and squeaked in every issue against Industrialism. In fact a perusal of its columns since January 10 (an act which I, to the mortification of the flesh, performed), reveals the fact that, beside reprints of ordinary five and ten cent pamphlets gotten out in the U. S., it contains little beside personal attacks against every one who is interested in the I. W. W. from Debs, DeLeon and Hagerty, down to its most humble advocates, myself included.

At Van Couver the situation became really interesting. In my effort to seek and save those who were lost in the mire of Kingsley's latter day interpretation of Marxism I took occasion at the City Hall meeting to point out among other things the fallacy of the contention that "The Iron Law of Wages makes it impossible to better the worker's condition through a union." Kingsley and his satellites were out in force and even the pure and simple present joined in the demand upon him for a debate. Though he might have had unlimited time, Kingsley rose to say that he would be most pleased to debate "some other time." Then he hurried home and wrote two columns of vile personal slander against myself—his keen sense of humor not preventing him from putting it in the next week's "Clarion" as the leading editorial. Among other equally interesting suggestions, I was "perfectly ordinary in appearance," was "on the verge of idiocy," the worst "freak to speak in B. C. since Hagerty," etc., etc. But the fun did not end there.

Th following Sunday found K. in Seattle lecturing for the S. P. local. Not being aware of the sentiment prevailing among the progressive element of the Seattle S. P., he made, in his evening talk, a veiled attack on the I. W. W. The way the S. P. adherents of Industrial Unionism came to its support was beautiful to behold. Their questions exposed his ignorance of Marxian economics, his impossibility attitude toward the whole union question, and his sneaking method of attack when he knew that opposition might be aroused. I had intended to say nothing—even going so far as to caution the members of the S. L. P. to overlook, for the time, the incident of the \$22.30 and the stolen Secretary-Treasurer's books. But driven to bay by members of his party, Kingsley suggested that the I. W. W. was not worth his time and was "not worrying him." I then arose with a copy of the last edition of his paper in my hand and asked him "why, if the I. W. W. caused him no concern, practically every word written by him in the last copy was directed against the I. W. W. or its individual members?" Furthermore, "would he tell the audience why, when treated as a gentleman at the I. W. W. meeting in Van Couver, he had refused the call of the audience to debate and then filled his editorial columns with a villainous attack upon me?" In the excuse which he gave as a reply he openly admitted his guilt and pleaded that he was once a member of the S. L. P. But his attempt at humor did not stick and a crowd of S. P. members, gathering immediately after the meeting, charged him with dishonesty. You cannot fool all of the people all of the time." Taking the Kingsley incident as an indication to fool any considerable number for a fortnight these days takes a man of some courage and biddins.

At VanCouver the S. L. P. has just moved into, and in Seattle is about to move into, new and more spacious headquarters—in each case nearer the center of the city than formerly. It may not be out of place, in this connection, to emphasize the importance of the home of the organization in each city. If the Section has no regular and centrally located place of meeting it can accomplish little in the way of agitation. Much may be accomplished if the workers can be furnished a reading room where sound literature is available and lectures and discussions are common. If good Sunday evening lectures are advertised, collections will go far to pay rent. It saves extra expense for advertising hall meetings. Many factors make it a most important element in the development of the organization.

New recruits are rapidly lining up with the S. L. P. in the Northwest. At Van Couver, during our special season of agitation, ten members were received, some thirty or forty names of new sympathizers secured, and means for their education supplied. So persistent has been the work of the S. L. P., the S. T. & L. A. and the A. L. U. in the Northwest that a crowd on the street (the social barometer) always inclines to the side of the revolutionary argument instead of calamity howling; to revolutionary unionism instead of craftism. As a Western Federation of Miners' man asked when he came to the S. L. P. "after meeting" at the headquarters in Van Couver:—"Does the S. L. P. permit its members to vote for capitalists?" "No," was our reply.

"Then I wish to join you."

To the traveler in the Northwest, many thoughts are suggested. Physiographically, this is a rich, beautiful wonderful country. For a thousand miles the great forest is yet unbroken, save by here and there a settlement or logging-camp. Physically, the many cloudy days among the sombre evergreens seems to have a depressing effect upon the miners, the loggers and the farmers. But through this tangled wilderness flows the majestic Columbia; here are the highest North American mountains; big game is still abundant. So to all but the most underpaid proletarian, some diversion is still possible.

Through the center of this region runs an international boundary line. In many ways the fact of peculiar political institutions reacts upon the social life of the population, even where frontier conditions obtain. But the proletariat is undivided. When, on taking my departure from Van Couver I said to more than a thousand workers that it was their duty to assist in the abolition of the present farcical political State, the barbarism of jingoism, through the development of the Workers' World Republic, the response they made echoed in my thoughts long after I had returned to "my own country."

Roslyn, Wash., Sept. 27.

"DER ARBEITER" ANNIVERSARY.

On the 15th of October, the Progressive Socialist Club will hold an Entertainment and Ball to celebrate the first anniversary of "Der Arbeiter". The proceeds which will thereby be realized, will be used to continue "Der Arbeiter" in its good work.

Realizing the necessity of maintaining such a clear cut Jewish Socialist paper as "Der Arbeiter", the committee in charge, calls upon every member and sympathizer to help to make this affair a financial success. The committee is doing their best to make it a social and moral success.

The affair will be held at Arlington Hall, 19-21 St. Marks place.

Tickets admit one, 25 cents. Hatcheck, 10 cents.

If you have not secured your tickets do it now. A strong pull and a long pull will make the coming affair a success all around.

Fraternally yours,
Committee.

BOHN'S DATES.

Spokane, Wash., Sept. 29-Oct. 5.

Butte, Mont., and vicinity, Oct. 6-20

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY ORGANS.

Daily People, 2-6 New Reade street,

New York; per year\$3.50

Weekly People, 2-6 New Reade st.,

New York; per year 50

Arbetaren (Swedish), 2-6 New Reade

street, New York; per year 1.50

Der Arbeiter (Jewish), 2-6 New

Reade st., New York; per year 50

Socialistische Arbeiter Zeitung (German), 193 Columbus street, Cleve-

land, Ohio; per year1.00

Nepakarat (Hungarian), 197 East

4th street, New York; per year 1.80

Ragione Nuova (Italian), 22 Bond

street, Providence, R. I., per year 25

He who comes in contact with work-

men reading either of these languages

should not fail to call attention to these

papers and endeavor to secure subscrip-

tions. Sample copies will be sent upon

request. Address each paper as per ad-

dress given above.

Henry Kuhn,

National Secretary, S. L. P.

2-6 New Reade street, New York.

New Jersey State Committee

CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF NEW JERSEY.

A special meeting of the State Executive Committee, S. L. P., was held in Hoboken Wednesday evening, September 27. Present: Eck, Fallath, Herrschaff, Hossack, Romany and Theumel. Absent, Hartung. Romany, chairman.

State Organizer Henry Jaeger was present and reported on his work in central and southern part of the State. Requests having come in from organized places that speaker be sent, the committee decided to continue Jaeger in the work, and further routes were mapped out, after which Jaeger will work in the organized counties. The State Organizer reports having had good crowds and a fair demand for literature. The workers show much interest when the question of Industrial Unionism is presented. The members of the S. E. C. also reported that the work of the I. W. W. is progressing well in their localities.

The following communication was received:

Orange, N. J., Sept. 10, 1905.

Mr. John Hossack:

Dear Sir—I am informed that you are the N. J. State Secretary for the Socialist Labor Party; if I am misled in this, will you kindly forward to the proper authority?

At our State Convention a resolution was adopted and accepted by referendum vote of the State, by a large majority, a copy of which I inclose, looking to a union of the Socialist forces of our State. This afternoon the committee met, and I was instructed to write to you, asking your organization to elect a like number of delegates to meet with us and discuss the feasibility of meeting together on some common ground, forming a united party, and thus presenting a solid front to the common enemy, "Capitalism." Hoping to hear from you at an early date, I remain, fraternally yours,

W. B. Killingbeck, Sec'y.

P. S.—If agreeable to your committee, we can meet at the above marked address on any date most suitable to you, Sunday preferred.

W. B. K.

The Secretary stated that he had made formal acknowledgment of the documents received. The resolution adopted by the Socialist Party by a vote of 201 to 33 reads as follows:

"Resolved, That this convention (held May 30, 1905), do elect delegates as a committee to meet a like number of delegates from the Socialist Labor Party, to confer on the best means of uniting all the workers in one vast army for progress. That a committee be elected to consist of three delegates from each of the four dominant counties, viz., Hudson, Essex, Passaic and Union. Nominations for this committee follow: For Hudson, Haedley, Kiehn and Plymouth; for Essex, James, Killingbeck and Hy. Green; for Passaic, Glanz, Gregory and Haech; and for Union, Bretschneider, Deiderick and Brickerood."

On motion, it was decided to draft an answer to the communication from the Socialist Party and submit it to a referendum vote of the Socialist Labor Party as to whether such answer should be the answer of the Socialist Labor Party to the Socialist Party invitation. The proposed answer follows:

Jersey City, Sept. 28, 1905.

Mr. W. B. Killingbeck, Sec'y State Committee, Socialist Party of New Jersey,

Orange, N. J.:

Dear Sir—Your communication of September 10, 1905, requesting that this committee take steps toward the election of a committee by the Socialist Labor Party of New Jersey to meet with a committee already elected by your organization, for the purpose of discussing the feasibility of a union of forces, was acted upon by the State Executive Committee at a meeting held September 27. An answer to your letter was drawn up by our committee, and it has been submitted to a referendum vote of the party, and the vote is now being taken. The following is our proposed answer in full:

We have first to inform you that the Socialist Labor Party of New Jersey is not an autonomous body. It is a limb of the Socialist Labor Party of the country. But while we cannot decide anything ultimately upon the subject which you have raised, still we see no reason why we should not confer with you as you have suggested, especially so in the light of recent developments in the Labor Movement. So important are these developments in their bearing upon the matter which you have brought to us that it may not be out of place for us to briefly touch upon them here.

Socialists are agreed that political institutions are the reflex of economic conditions. That given feudalism, an institution based on land ownership, the

landlord class will rule the politico-social system. That likewise given capitalism, the class which owns the capital will, and of necessity must, wield the political power. It follows that the political manifestation of Socialism must also have an economic groundwork.

Heretofore the economic, class conscious groundwork upon which alone Socialism can be built, has been missing. Craft unionism has split the workers apart, has kept them apart, and in so doing craft unionism became the handmaid of capitalism. What should have been a solid economic foundation became under craft unionism a disrupted economic bottom, with which political unity was out of the question. But, happily, this is evidently about to be changed. The Industrial Workers of the World have organized upon a national basis the class-conscious union that can and must unify the workers. Political unity of the workers will, we consider, soon be a reflex of these changed conditions. The bedrock of economic unity now in process of shaping will, we believe, furnish the solid ground for the political unity of all bona fide Socialists.

We take it that your invitation, supported by a vote of your members, 201 to 33, is a symptom of these important changes, a sign of the recognition that now at last the ground is becoming solid for Socialist political unity. Thus interpreting your invitation we hail it as a sign of progress, and we shall be glad to confer with you and ascertain whether our interpretation of your move is correct, although, as we have stated in the opening of this letter, our State organization can do nothing definite without the National organization. Such a conference, however, taking place at a time when the hitherto divided Socialists are approaching one another and joining hands on the basis of the Industrial Workers of the World, such a conference, we feel confident, at least feel hopeful, will promote the desired end of Socialist unity.

This is our proposed answer in full. Further action by this committee will depend upon the fiat of the party membership. Shall advise you the result of the referendum vote.

Your truly,
State Executive Committee, Socialist Labor Party of New Jersey.

Per John Hossack, Sec'y.

The Secretary was instructed to notify the Sections that should they vote in favor of the proposed conference they should at once elect three members to the conference committee from counties of Hudson, Essex, Passaic and Union. Adjournment followed.

John Hossack, Sec'y.

CONNECTICUT S. E. C.

Regular meeting of above committee was held September 10 at S. L. P. Hall, Hartford, Conn. Leikin, of New Britain, was chairman. Absent: J. Brewer and Charles Fantone. Minutes of previous meeting approved as read.

Correspondence: From Bridgeport, forwarding \$10.92 for due stamps. From E. Sherman, Rockville, requesting that State Organizer Phil Veal be sent there for two days. Attended to by Secretary. From Moosup, sending \$1.60 for dues. From G. Langner, Milford, Conn., inclosing \$2, requesting five due stamps and that the rest of the money be applied for agitation fund. From John Sweeney, Secretary Massachusetts S. C., several letters, directing Organizer Phil Veal to go to New Bedford when through in this State. From Section Hartford, sending semi-annual report and \$6 per capita tax. From New Britain, semi-annual report. From Organizer Phil Veal, giving detailed account of work accomplished and sending in his resignation. On motion, correspondence was filed, except Veal's resignation, which was referred to new business.

Treasurer's report was as follows:
On hand August 1.....\$146.88
Income for August..... 17.32
.....\$164.20
Expenses for August..... 29.13

On hand September 1.....\$135.07

New business: The resignation of Organizer Veal was thoroughly discussed and, on motion, duly seconded, it was accepted, and Secretary given all necessary instructions.

Adjournment followed.

E. Sherman, Rec. Sec'y.

ATTENTION, PATERSON!

The regular business meeting of Section Passaic County S. L. P. will be held at Helvetia Hall, on Friday evening, Oct. 6, at 8 p. m. sharp. Members are urged to attend.

ELIZABETH OPEN AIR MEETING.

Saturday, Oct. 7, at First and Livingston streets. Speakers, W. Woodhouse of New York City.

BUSINESS DEPARTMENT NOTES

Now we are "looking up." Let us keep it up.

Two hundred and twelve subscriptions to The Weekly People and eighty-one mail subscriptions to The Daily People were received during the week ending Saturday, September 30. That is an improvement over the last three weeks. Continue to improve thereon every week from now on.

Up to the same date 10,888 extra copies of The Weekly People of October 7 had been ordered. That issue will contain De Leon's speech on the Preamble to The Industrial Workers of the World. Only a few Sections have ordered a supply, and some of them only a small quantity. The New England and Eastern States have ordered scarcely anything. In Greater New York only one Assembly District, the Thirty-fifth, in Manhattan, has sent in an order. That district ordered 600 copies. Let us hear from other Assembly Districts and from all the Sections throughout the Eastern States. Send in a large order. Try to get your order to this office not later than Tuesday, October 3. Rates for bundles are as follows: Five to 100 copies, 1 cent; 100 to 500 copies, 75 cents per hundred; 500 and over, 50 cents per 100.

Five or more subscriptions to The Weekly People were received as follows: Frank Bohn, Vancouver, B. C., 12; J. Bonstein, Hedley, B. C., Can., 12; Rudolph Katz, New York State, 9; M. Biell, St. Louis, Mo., 8; Ben Hilbert, Jr., Hamilton, O., 8; Fred Brown, Cleveland, O., 7; H. C. Beck, Indianapolis, Ind., 6; Lewis Lewis, Pittsburg, Kans., 6; Walter Goss, Belleville, Ill., 5; Oscar Freer, Columbus, O., 5; A. Rutstein, Yonkers, N. Y., 5; Nick Dufner, Lynden, Wash., 5.

The six platforms offered by Alvin S. Brown, of New York City, to the three Sections outside of New York City sending in the largest number of subscriptions to The Weekly People and the three Assembly Districts of New York City buying the largest amount of literature during the month of September will be awarded as follows:

Subscriptions to The Weekly People: Cleveland, O., 22; Indianapolis, Ind., 19; East St. Louis, Ill., 19.

Literature bought: French Branch, New York, \$10.15; 14-18 A. D., New York, \$4.80; 11-13 A. D., New York, \$3.00.

The above Sections and Branches should notify us where the platforms are to be shipped to.

LABOR NEWS NOTES.

Glasgow, Scotland, bought 288 "What Means This Strike?" 288 "The Burning Question of Trades Unionism," and a large assortment of other pamphlets, amounting in all to \$26.48 worth.

Eureka, Cal., ordered \$8.00 worth of literature, assorted.

National Organizer Frank Bohn had 260 pamphlets sent him at Spokane, Wash.

The Cleveland Labor News Agency bought fifty "What Means This Strike?" and fifty "Burning Question."

Two thousand leaflets, and other literature amounting in all to \$0.15 worth, were shipped to Pittsburg, Pa. Joseph Campbell ordered fifty assorted pamphlets sent to New Britain, Conn. Cincinnati, Ohio, took twenty-five "Burning Question" (Jewish), thirty-six emblem buttons. Thirty-first A. D., New York, fifty pamphlets.

Section Kings County, ten thousand leaflets. Braddock, Pa., one thousand leaflets. Roanoke, Va., two thousand. The Seventh and Ninth A. D.'s, New York, bought twenty-five "Strikes." E. H. Carlson, Tacoma, ordered a bronze button and a gold emblem pin.

St. Louis, Mo., ordered Jewish literature to the amount of \$3.18. H. Parethman, Lynn, Mass., bought \$1.00 worth of literature. Chas. T. Peach, of Danbury, Conn., took a copy of Bebel's "Woman Under Socialism."

Comrade Janke, Indianapolis, Ind., took fifty "John Mitchell Exposed."

SECTION MILWAUKEE, ATTENTION.

Section Milwaukee will hold a very important meeting Saturday, October 7, at their headquarters corner 3rd and Prairie streets. Every member should make it his business to attend.

Mothers! Mothers!! Mothers!!!

Mrs. Winslow's Soothing Syrup has been used for over SIXTY YEARS by MILLIONS of MOTHERS for their CHILDREN while TEething, with PERFECT SUCCESS. IT SOOTHES the CHILD, SOFTENS the GUMS, ALLAYS all PAIN; CURES WIND COLIC, and is the best remedy for DIARRHœA. Sold by Druggists in every part of the world. Be sure and ask for "Mrs. Winslow's Soothing Syrup," and take no other kind. Twenty-five cents a bottle.

BIG RATIFICATION MEETING.

Arrangements Under Way to May Palm Garden Affair a Record Breaker.

Section New York County, Socialist Labor Party, will this year hold its big ratification meeting at Palm Garden, Fifty-eighth street, between Third and Lexington avenues, on Monday evening, October 16.

The committee of arrangements have decided to invite the following speakers to address the meeting: Philip Veal, of Illinois, who is now on a tri-State tour of Connecticut, Massachusetts and Rhode Island, Daniel De Leon, John J. Kinneally, candidate for Mayor, James Connolly and James T. Hunter.

As soon as the committee hears from these speakers it will take in hand the getting out of printed matter announcing the meeting and will insert notices in the Party press as soon as it is ready so as the comrades and sympathizers can supply themselves with a sufficient quantity of the same for distribution among their shopmates, neighbors and friends.

SECTION CALENDAR.

(Under this head we shall publish standing advertisements of Section headquarters, or other permanent announcements, at a nominal rate. The charge will be one dollar per line per year.)

Kings County General Committee—Second and fourth Saturdays, 8 p. m. at Weber's Hall, corner of Throop avenue and Stockton street, Brooklyn.

General Committee, New York County—Second and fourth Saturday in the month, at Daily People building, 2 New Reade street, Manhattan.

Offices of Section New York County at Daily People building, 2-6 New Reade street, Manhattan.

Los Angeles, California. Section headquarters and public reading room at 205 1/2 South Main street. Public educational meetings every Sunday evening. People readers are invited to our rooms and meetings.

San Francisco, Calif., S. L. P. headquarters and free reading room, No. 280 Jessie street. Open day and evening. All wage workers cordially invited.

Section Chicago, S. L. P. meet every 2nd and 4th Monday at 55 North Clark street.

Sec. Cleveland, Ohio, S. L. P. meets every first and third Sunday of month at 386 Ontario Street (Ger. Am. Bank Bldg.) top floor, at 2.30 P. M.

Sec. St. Louis, Mo., S. L. P. meets every second and fourth Friday of each month, 8 p. m., at Smiths Hall, 21st and Franklin ave., 3rd floor.

Tacoma, Wash., Section headquarters and public reading room corner 12th and A street, room 304, over Post Office. Open every evening. All workmen invited. Business meetings every Tuesday.

Section Providence, R. I., meets at 77 Dyer street, room 8. Something going on every Tuesday night at 8.00 p. m. third Tuesdays of each month, at 29 1/2 South Delaware street, third floor.

Section Indianapolis. Meetings first and 2nd and 4th regular business, others devoted to lectures and discussions. During the winter a Science Class every Wednesday night.

Detroit, Mich., "Socialist Labor Auxiliary Reading Room, room 10 avenue Theatre Bldg., Woodward avenue. Open every evening, Sunday all day. Discussion upon interesting topics every Sunday.

Watch the label on your paper. That will tell you when your subscription expires. First number indicates the month, second the day, third the year.

ARBETAREN

Swedish Weekly Organ of the Socialist Labor Party.

ISSUED EVERY THURSDAY.

SUBSCRIPTION:—One year, \$1.50; Six months, 75 cents; Three months, 40 cents. Sample Copy Free.

Liberal Commission to Agents.

ARBETAREN,

2-6 New Reade street, New York City.

P. O. Box 341.

The New York Labor News Company is the literary agency of the Socialist Labor Party and publishes nothing but sound Socialist literature.

THE BURNING QUESTION

OF

TRADES UNIONISM

By DANIEL DE LEON.

The author goes into a searching analysis of unionism, showing the mistakes which have been incurred, and setting forth the correct tactics for the economic organizations of labor.

PRICE 5 CENTS.

NEW YORK